Doctor of Professional Studies

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

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Disclaimer: The views expressed in this research project are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the supervisory team, Middlesex University, or the examiners of this work.

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Abstract

This research project set out to explore the experiences of Women, Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual, and Black and Minority Ethnic (LGB & BME) leaders in order to understand the challenges they have faced in moving into and being successful in leadership positions and to provide insight into potential development interventions or organisational strategies which might facilitate the development and support of minority leaders. The research focus emerged from both a process of critical reflection on my own practice as a leadership and organisational development practitioner and an engagement with relevant literature in this area. While literature exists demonstrating that organisational life and opportunities may be different for minorities, there was a lack of studies on leadership development accounting for those differences. The research was conducted in two stages using an online survey followed by in-depth interviews. Initial thematic analysis provided useful if confirmatory data about developing leaders. Following a further literature review and some exploration of the work of Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher, the data was reviewed again to understand whether his thinking tools of habitus, capital and field could uncover greater insights from the data and indeed whether his work could enhance our understanding of these conceptual tools and their applicability in leadership development and diversity work. The research finds that minority leaders may be disadvantaged because they are not regarded with the same legitimacy as majority leaders. This research acknowledges the importance of gender, racial and sexual identity in leadership and that the environments in which these leaders operate consist of power inequalities which need to be attended to if minority leaders are to progress. The findings include that minority leaders may possess forms of capital and draw upon leadership styles that can provide them with an advantage in contemporary contexts. The research argues that minority leaders may, through their experiences of marginalisation, bring alternative qualities to leadership and that leadership development can break new ground by incorporating those qualities into leadership models and training. Recommendations based on the findings include integrating Bourdieusian approaches as part of leadership development and diversity work; and areas for further research which can contribute to knowledge in this field.

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Introduction to Context

Context became a key concept in post modernism as thinking, in the face of increasing complexity driven by technological advances in the 20th century, shifted from adherence to the idea of absolute, objective truth to the notion of socially constructed reality and the recognition of many truths as understood in context. Contexts are many layered and evolve at different rates from each other depending on the exertion of influence of each layer. This introduction sets out to give an overview of the contextual layers of both this particular project and of the societal contexts in which the LGB and BME communities and individuals sit. One of those contextual layers is what I have brought to this project as the researcher researching my own area of expertise and the influence this has had on the focus, method and direction of this research project. The project arose out of critical reflection on my own practice as a leadership developer for major organisations and from the research literature that I encountered during my MSc in Organizational Behaviour. I came to recognise more explicitly the need to take into account the experiences of minority leaders into my practice. I knew from existing research that some minority leaders were likely to encounter challenges but these were not addressed in my own development as a practitioner with the exception of coaching during which such challenges were sometimes raised. The intention of this project then became to address this gap; to improve the quality and relevance of the type of leadership development I can offer my client groups and to gain a better-informed perspective on organisational change. I believe I am doing an injustice to some of the leaders I work with by placing emphasis on existing management theory without taking into consideration research that exists about the experience of minority leaders or the challenges some minorities face in even getting into a leadership position. I also wanted to understand why, despite years of diversity work, progress remains slow. My desire to pursue this line of research was, in part, informed by the value I place on equality and fairness that is, to improve the quality and relevance of leadership development for all leaders, not just those for whom leadership development has been traditionally tailored. I am motivated to give voice to minority leaders so that their experiences can be surfaced, acknowledged and understood with the aim of progressing our understanding of leadership and leadership development as

well as organisational change. It is not intended to homogenise the experiences of minority leaders; it recognises the challenges (and risks) of generalising minority experience. Rather it seeks to understand whether a sample of minority leader voices can add to or illuminate existing theories of leadership and diversity.

There are of course numerous theories and research studies on the subject of management and leadership. Business school programmes, leadership development training programmes, assessment tools, books, executive coaching and executive mentoring are all widely available in the developed world and increasingly in emerging economies. Yet, Women, Lesbian Gay and Bisexual (LGB) and Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) employees remain underrepresented in leadership roles in many organisations. Whilst research is more widely available about women in leadership there appears to be limited use of the findings within the women's leadership programmes that are now emerging. Training providers and business schools now offer women's development programmes but the content of programmes vary widely raising the question of whether they are underpinned by theory and/or research.

Positioning Myself in the Context

What has led me to put myself in the role of a researcher in this area is both personal and professional. These are intricately linked and a reflection on this dimension of the research has been enlightening for me too. I originally wanted to become an actor or a graphic designer and had an unconditional offer to art college. However, family pressure resulted in taking A' levels and applying to the civil service – safe choices. I took part in what was known then as the 'Civil Service Open Competition' and joined as a direct entrant in a management grade. Apparently at that time I was the youngest ever direct-entrant to the grade in the Home Office. My first role was deciding asylum cases - a significant responsibility for an 18-year-old. I was selected to participate in training from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and at 20 years old was subsequently asked to help to set up a training department and train new employees in the interpretation and implementation of the 1951 UN Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees. After the

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Second World War over 500,000 people were displaced in Europe and the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was created to address the needs of those people at that time; at a basic level, to find them somewhere safe to live. It was modified to transcend time and borders by offering protection to anyone being persecuted by reason of race, religion, nationality, social group or political opinion. I remain touched by the intentions and principles behind it; that people should be offered protection under those principles and that people should be safe. Many of the people displaced after the war had been blamed for their country's failings; Nazis used propaganda campaigns to blame Jewish people for Germany's economic problems. As I write, the UK referendum has resulted in a vote to leave the European Union along with a rise in reported racism across the UK following a campaign that was marred by negative myths and the scapegoating of immigrants. It is a challenge to believe that we are advancing rather than regressing in terms of our attitudes to difference.

I moved through my training career at the Home Office into technology training and management development (as it was then called). I took an interest in, and was given responsibility for equal opportunities training, an area that resonated very strongly with me, and I have continued to do work in what is now termed diversity and inclusion. Equality and fairness have remained important aspects of my work, key drivers of my career choices and on reflection, very much informed by my upbringing. My Burmese mother was repatriated from Burma to the UK when she was 14. She had wanted to be a teacher but had only attended school between 9 and 15. She came from a country going through independence, where being less than pure Burmese was problematic (she had some European heritage), into the UK where she was considered Asian. My parents divorced when I was six and my mother raised my twin sister and myself on her own. We grew up in a south London council estate with very little means beyond those required for basic living. My mother's limited access to education compared to her parents' education meant that she valued ours very highly. She taught us to read and write before we started school and impressed upon us how important education was if we were to make a better life a reality. My sister and I were both high achievers throughout our education and perhaps examples of how critical parental aspiration and support are to educational achievement.

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Life on a south London council estate in the seventies and eighties was challenging. We were regularly abused verbally and sometimes physically. Turning into the estate from school always filled me with dread as we faced racial insults like “Paki” or “Chink”. However, my experience of primary school was extremely positive and to this day I am grateful to the teachers there who were so encouraging. As I look back, it occurs to me that it was not just their skill in teaching which made them so effective, but the way in which all of us in our class were treated as children full of potential regardless of our backgrounds. This is something which, through my own training and experience in adult learning, has become an underpinning belief in my own practice; every individual has their own potential.

Throughout my teens, I was involved in theatre (I took theatre studies at A’ Level) and I retained my involvement in theatre while working. I joined the Royal Court Young People's Theatre and for many years I was involved with both the Royal Court Theatre and its outreach work. I ran workshops for asylum seeking women, young Lesbian Gay and Bisexual people and Black and Minority Ethnic children. The Royal Court is a new writing theatre and I worked on new plays in progress, doing readings and “workshopping” material. I managed to get some professional work as an actor, appearing in a couple of programmes for the BBC and a music video for the Australian group, INXS. Every year the Royal Court ran a month-long summer school bringing together young writers, actors and directors from around the world. I auditioned, won a place and was given a bursary. I worked with leading practitioners from British theatre and my cohort were practitioners from Europe, the US, Asia and Africa. From my fellow participants, I learned different theatre traditions, different ways of writing, acting and storytelling. It was an extraordinary experience.

I left the Home Office to work as a training manager for a well-known luxury retailer as I wanted private sector experience. I went from a culture that was respectful and inclusive - where I had never even heard women referred to as “girls”, to one that was built on fear and paranoia. I inherited a team that was frightened and lacked both competence and

confidence. I realised that in order to build their competence, I needed to build their confidence. This was intuitive but I would later understand the relationship between self-esteem and learning which I will come to later. By the end of my first year my team were managing challenging projects for themselves.

Training and Assessing Trainers

In 1998 I was approached for a role as the National Training Manager for a commercial training company. I started working with a qualification called Certified Technical Trainer (CTT+). Although recognised more widely in the technology industry, it is industry and subject neutral. The qualification is underpinned by a set of competencies from the International Board for Training Performance and Instruction (IBSTPI). I already held other training qualifications but the CTT+ programme was much more rigorous and included both a live assessment and an exam. The CTT+ programme is based on becoming a learner-focused facilitator rather than presenter-focused and specifically taught the link between self-esteem and learning. I began training and assessing trainers for the qualification and in doing so had to develop my own knowledge and understanding of the theories and models that underpinned the competences. I promoted the CTT+ qualification in the UK and was asked to go to Mexico to run the programme for the training department of a global telecommunications company. Shortly after, I travelled to South Africa to set up the CTT+ qualification as part of efforts to address skills shortages in the region. In South Africa, I saw a country going through substantial changes as it addressed the legacy of apartheid. I also saw the very real fear experienced by white people in response to the changes, something I have reflected on as I tried to understand both the experience of minorities and non-minorities in the workplace. My work in Mexico and South Africa were both major learning experiences for me, my first experiences of working internationally with extraordinary people, and remain highlights in my career.

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Psychometrics

I took my first steps into psychometrics, and thus psychology, when I trained in the Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI). It was a revelation to understand the building blocks of personality and I continued to develop in this area taking qualifications in MBTI Step Two, Firo-B, Hogan and the British Psychological Society Level A and B qualifications. Although they are often criticised, I found and continue to find psychometrics valuable in a range of situations when used in a way that is expanding rather than entrenching; creating rather than limiting choices. I often find it helpful to situate psychometric feedback in the context of emotional intelligence. That is, knowing something about our preferences gives us the opportunity to utilise or regulate them and recognising differences in others enables us to understand their needs and concerns and to influence them differently.

I also use psychometric instruments as part of leadership development programmes. I find that the self-awareness which psychometric instruments generate can be very helpful in increasing tolerance of ambiguity and individual differences, understanding control needs and control roles and lowering the need for external approval and feedback. Psychometrics do not specifically address issues of gender, sexuality or ethnicity but these issues are raised when I profile groups or leadership teams. Women, for example, are sometimes shown in Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) sessions to be more likely to prioritise values and relationships in their decision-making whereas men are more likely to prioritise logic and analysis. This set of MBTI preferences - Thinking and Feeling - is the only set of preferences where there is a noticeable gender split; around 63% of women report with a 'Feeling' preference and around 85% of men report with a 'Thinking' preference (OPP, 2011). I use those insights to discuss emerging patterns of leadership behaviour between men and women and how these might be viewed and evaluated in the workplace. I discuss how men who have a 'Thinking' preference - task-focused, directive, assertive - are viewed versus women with the same preference. The response I typically get from female leaders in the group is that women with a 'Thinking' reference are viewed as 'bitches' and (from both men and women) that behaviours associated with a 'Feeling' preference - values driven, people-focused - are not valued in either gender. Through psychometrics I developed a

broader interest in psychology which informed my decision to undertake a Masters in Organisational Behaviour.

Global Experience

In 2005 I joined an investment bank as their International Head of Leadership and Development. I set up the function developing its employee training programmes, leadership development programmes, graduate programme, and talent processes. I travelled extensively doing leadership development and talent work (performance management, succession, 360 etc.) around the world. I began working in Hong Kong, New York, Mauritius, São Paulo, Johannesburg, and Moscow among other places. Subsequently I have worked in Canada, the Philippines, Korea and throughout Europe. Working globally was a significant step forward in my development. There is the challenge of working across time zones on a day-to-day basis, and delivering programmes, processes and systems that are scalable. There is also a need to develop sensitivity to and knowledge about the local language and culture. I found that I had to review leadership models for their cultural appropriateness. Participative leadership styles for example, encouraged in the west, can be damaging for managers in Asia; they can be perceived as weak or not knowing what to do. In the training room in Asia, delegates would not answer questions and my training in facilitation - *ask don't tell* - proved unworkable in an Asian cultural setting. I have had to adapt the way I work in training rooms to accommodate cultural differences. The importance of recognising and challenging cultural assumptions has become part of my coaching of senior executives, helping them to understand their own cultural filters so that they can be more effective when working in other countries.

My work with executives included contributions to the development of a global executive development programme, delivered in South Africa, and attended by over 300 executives from my organisation. As part of that programme, our executives learned about corporate social responsibility – not as charity, but as critical in supporting the long-term sustainability of the bank. We delivered that module in a community centre in Soweto as a way of immersing executives in an experience that connected them to the community which the bank served. It was rated one of most powerful aspects of the programme. Back in London I

began to integrate work with charities and the voluntary sector into our leadership and team development offering. For example, intact teams might spend a day leading teams of children excluded from schools through a high ropes course thereby developing their own team and collaborative leadership skills.

Coaching

I have coached throughout my career and I have taken qualifications in life, performance, and executive coaching and worked with a coach as part of my coach training. Training provided me with a deeper understanding of the coaching process and my own research took me through meta-coaching, solution-focused coaching, psychodynamics, transactional analysis, existentialism, and gestalt. Training also provided space for me to reflect on the experiences that have brought me to coaching; to be clear about boundaries and ethics and to be explicit about my beliefs and values. Coaching, even more than facilitation became a process of letting go, trusting the process and the resourcefulness of the people I was working with. I had to work with a coach as part of my training. I found these sessions added depth and breadth to the meanings I gave to a spectrum of personal and professional issues; specifically, I have been able to more clearly identify patterns. In particular, feedback from my own coach has been invaluable if at times difficult to hear.

In my coaching work, issues of gender and ethnicity surface frequently - perhaps because coaching is a private space that enables conversations to take place that might not otherwise emerge appropriately at work. I have worked with women who struggle with the way in which their behaviour is perceived; for example, their assertiveness is viewed negatively compared to their male counterparts for whom assertive (or aggressive) behaviour is often an asset. Often the lack of support from other women is a source of frustration. Male leaders have also raised gender in coaching. Some have grappled with their discomfort at displays of emotion from female staff, or with giving feedback to women or providing support to

female staff with health problems. Men with healthy *animas* may feel that they must only express *animus* and vice versa for women.[1]

Ethnicity also features; one leader recognised that his respectful behaviour, appropriate in his (Asian) home setting, was viewed as passive and low impact in an investment bank. Another female leader had been given feedback that she lacked assertiveness. However, because she was concerned that black women were often stereotyped as aggressive, she had consciously modified her behaviour to appear less so. I also have experience of coaching leaders who are gay or lesbian. My own experience in this regard, as well as findings from my previous research (Mullen 2011), has provided me with valuable insights into the experience of LGB leaders at work. I regularly align executive coaches with executives and they too have also reported similar themes emerging during sessions. Coaching provides a confidential, safe place for issues to be discussed and raises self-awareness as a precursor to change (Enescu & Popescu 2012). It also addresses the whole person and the 'system'. In other words, coaching asks leaders to describe the system (or context) in which they are located and to consider relevant systemic issues that make gender, ethnicity or sexuality salient. The combination of psychological safety, with increasing self-awareness and exploration of the system may offer an explanation as to why issues of gender, ethnicity and sexuality surface during coaching conversations.

Executive Coach Assessment

I found that when coaching executives, prior to an international assignment, old insecurities might surface; for example, they might worry that they did not have a degree, or that they had experienced difficulties in their teens. I put robust support around international assignees which included coaching, mentoring, culture and language training for the assignee, the trailing spouse and children. This work was featured in Finance Week in 2008.

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1 In Jungian analytical psychology the anima is the unconscious of a man that finds expression as a feminine inner personality, and the animus the unconscious of a woman expressed as a masculine inner personality

I also began working with my counterparts in South Africa on a coaching and mentoring framework and with the I-Coach academy on a selection process for executive coaches. There had been some problems with coaches and we were aware that the coaching process was not managed organisationally. We developed a selection process which included bio-data, structured interviews and an assessment day designed around assessment centre conventions. There was some pushback from the industry – some coaches and coaching companies were appalled that a corporate would develop its own coach selection process. However, our process was not designed to identify good from bad coaches, it was designed to select coaches whose coaching approach was consistent with our philosophy. It was about appropriate 'fit'. The feedback from the coaches who went through the process was resoundingly positive and, as more and more corporates and public sector bodies developed their own processes for selecting coaches, coaches and coaching companies that had previously refused to participate in any assessment process came to me for advice. For me the assessment process makes the matching process easier as I have seen the coaches working, and I understand the theories and perspectives which inform their model and practice. I maintain close relationships with my panel of coaches and we often co-create coaching interventions for an executive; for example, we may use the feedback from a 360-feedback process that I have previously run as an input to their coaching programme.

I use an existing framework for coaching and mentoring that defines coaching at different levels: performance coaching, coaching as a leadership style and transformational/executive coaching. It also provides clear definitions of coaching and mentoring with guidance about the appropriateness of each. Importantly, developing a framework for coaching, governance, processes, coach selection, and feedback mechanisms enables me to take coaching from the occasional pairing of a coach with an executive, to an organisation-wide approach to developing leadership capability and support performance at all levels. It also supports the creation of a coaching culture; coaching becomes an organisational development initiative.

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Organisational Behaviour

It seems common sense that there is an intricate link between behaviour of humans in an organisation and the way an organisation behaves. However, it was not until I decided to study this formally by undertaking a Masters in Organisational Behaviour (Occupational Psychology) that I was able to deconstruct this link and begin to see it in detail. I had never been to university although I had undertaken many professional qualifications. This was an opportunity to find out about not only my academic potential but to have the opportunity to focus on the systemic rather than the individual. On both points, I did not always feel that I fully understood the theoretical basis for what I was doing and I wanted to understand how knowledge in behavioural science could be applied in organisations. The programme I selected was not a 'how to' programme– but designed to develop critical thinking skills by reflecting on theory, research and evidence-based practice. I came to question the certainty with which I accepted the models and tools so widely used in my field. I realised that my field is filled with received wisdom much of which does not withstand even minimal scrutiny. I found myself asking questions, looking for evidence and conceptual clarity; I was thinking critically and challenging my ontological assumptions. The programme also enabled me to take a system-wide view of organisations, to plan change efforts and interventions with the rigour, discipline and focus on the total system and not just one aspect of it. However, concurrently and perhaps not unrelated, I found myself struggling with motivation at work. There had been numerous incidents of racist, sexist and homophobic behaviour by executives that presented a significant risk to the company but were ignored due to the seniority of those involved. The unwillingness of the executive to address what was going on left me struggling to reconcile my work, my values (and the espoused values of the company) with the reality of the environment. I now found myself in a situation which many executives and leaders find themselves and I did for myself what I would do for them: I sought some professional input. I needed to check out whether going to battle on my values and beliefs in this particular context was appropriate and whether I was being over sensitive. This experience at this particular bank with international branches including in London was certainly a litmus test of my values. In particular, I struggled with some of the extreme homophobic statements that were made. I was told, for example, that gay people should be beaten and gassed to death by one executive and other statements were made by senior

people which to this day I cannot bring myself to repeat. I found myself shutting down, unable to respond and certainly unable to speak out in a way that I would if for example, the behaviour had been racist. I found it difficult to understand my own response. I had never experienced, what I am now able to understand was *fear* in a working environment. This experience led me to think about how fear discourages being out at work and that the conditions that might make it easier for people to be out at work.

The process of researching literature into a subject to which little attention has been paid was both frustrating and exciting. I had to sift through volumes of research to find anything, but that made the discovery of research which was directly or tangentially relevant all the more rewarding. An important discovery was Griffin's model of Sexuality Identity Management (Griffin 1991) as this provided a theoretical model against which I could frame my research question. Griffin theorises that LGB people manage their sexual identity by: passing as heterosexual; censoring information about themselves and their lives; being implicitly out; or by being explicitly out at work (Griffin 1991). It was apparent from the outset that the model was useful in describing what LGB people do in relation to disclosure, but not why. In terms of organisational development, it was in understanding and modifying situational influences that offered the most promise for the creation of inclusive working environments. The actual method of data collection for the Masters research presented a dilemma: face-to-face interviews might offer the best opportunity to capture the richness of participants' experiences but volunteers willing to be interviewed might be more likely to be 'out' at work and therefore constitute a potential bias in the findings. For example, someone who is not openly gay at work may be uncomfortable meeting for a face-to-face interview (perhaps due to fear of being identified) and so I may miss the opportunity to uncover the challenges for people who are afraid to be 'out' at work. Anonymous questionnaires on the other hand, might lack the detail required for a qualitative study. The decision finally to use an on-line anonymous questionnaire was a pragmatic one and my fears about the lack of participation and detail proved unfounded as over 220 people took part. The process of conducting research was one of both discovery and confirmation. It was reassuring that findings were consistent with the work of others and particularly exciting to uncover findings that might be new.

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I found reading the responses from participants in my Masters research at times very moving and I felt privileged by the generosity they had shown in sharing their own, often difficult, experiences. Several resonated with my own experiences which led to my interest in this as a subject and through the Masters research I found a language for my own experiences as well as a better understanding of my response to that situation. For me the decision to leave an organisation, a team, and a role that I loved was a difficult one but like so many of the respondents in my research, I found the need to preserve one's self-concept, integrity and authenticity is, ultimately, too compelling to ignore.

In 2014, I sought further professional development in human behaviour in work situations through a Certificate in Board Level Dynamics at the Tavistock Institute, London. Situated in psychodynamic theory, the programme raised questions about the role of gender, race and sexuality in the dynamics of boards (and in organisations more generally). The programme provided space for us to explore, amongst other issues, the nature of the power of women and whether the powers of the genders were irreconcilable or collaborative. The psychodynamic perspective of organisations is an interesting one in that it views the organisation as a system with its own conscious and unconscious life and that the study of unconscious behaviour and dynamics can provide a deeper understanding of organisational behaviour. I have contributed a chapter to a book to be published by the Tavistock Institute in 2017 (title not yet available).

Returning to my most enjoyable and formative learning experiences, I am also exploring the use of the arts in the workplace; art has the power to help people use personal strengths in meaningful ways, to communicate and collaborate with each other effectively and to regenerate communities. It is increasingly being used in the workplace as part of employee development initiatives. For example, I have run successful teams off sites using theatre directors; what is called *ensemble* in theatre is *teamwork* in the workplace. We have used exercises designed for building ensemble in acting companies that focus on trust, listening,

openness, and facilitating rather than blocking ideas. We have also used techniques for voice and projection to help a global teamwork on collaboration, communication, impact and presence. I recall a great moment when two male employees from India who had never read Shakespeare said they wanted to be actors having performed some of Lady Macbeth's dialogue. I continue to use some of these techniques and I also use actors to deliver training programmes in areas such as communication and influencing, thus combining my love of theatre with my professional career.

Researcher in Context

"Wherever and whoever we are, we are always implicated in relations of knowing" (Skeggs 1997:18)

As a researcher into professional practice issues which are complex and in which considerable self-awareness is required to work at the intersections of difference, I believe the personal is professional and the reliability of my research is predicated on the congruence and transparency of me as the researcher; in other words, on my personal and professional integrity. As Maguire (2017) states: "Professional doctorates which integrate scholarship and professional practice need strong threads of coherence to link the diverse dimensions, perspectives and variables together into a comprehensive knowledge narrative… I am proposing that integrity is the common expectation of the highest values of education and of those of the professional world and can be used for this purpose. Integrity is defined by a range of scholars summed up in a powerful and evocative lexicon: honesty; truthfulness; trustworthiness; virtue; ethics, morals, principles; coherence; wholeness; fairness and honour".

I consider myself to be an experienced leadership and organisational development practitioner with over 20 years' experience and I hold something like eleven professional qualifications. I have qualified in training, coaching, psychometrics as well completing a Masters in Organisational Behaviour. The field in which I work spans learning, leadership development, people development, change, coaching, and engagement. I also have a responsibility in my current role for other human resource specialisms including reward and international mobility. As part of my practice I have developed and managed a range of strategies and leadership development interventions: 360-feedback (where leaders receive feedback from their manager, staff and colleagues), personality assessments, training, coaching and team coaching. To develop these approaches, I have carried out considerable research to contextualise my professional knowledge that has arisen from experience and found insights, which have contributed to my knowledge and practice. This is common sense for me, as I have always loved learning for its own sake as well as to support my

professional development. My professional experience has stimulated me to question and find some explanations in literature, which turn out to be not always convincing ones when set against professional experience, for a number of things including what happens when people come together to work collaboratively; how people are treated in the workplace and how is potential developed. These have driven my searches and my practice. I know it for myself, I am committed to facilitating it in others and I am always aware that we are not all the same. I try to develop increased self-awareness and examine the epistemological assumptions that support my sense of self. I also recognise the importance of, and challenges in, moving from self-awareness to self-cultivation[2]; something that is also critical in leadership development. This process of critically reflecting on my career at regular intervals has resulted in major career decisions on the one hand and on the other has drawn me increasingly into organisational development. Organisational development, like coaching, is a values-based field of practice underpinned by a humanistic philosophy. My professional values and beliefs have been shaped by my life experiences: equity and fairness and the value of every individual; openness to life-long learning and experimentation; integrity and congruency, enduring respect for the human side of enterprise; belief that people are creative and resourceful; and that there is potential in every human being. I want my research to expand my understanding and others' understanding of values and not only how they are created but maintained and shared not for the benefit of one but for many.

Identity is another key factor related to values, to workplaces and to health and well-being. I sit at intersections; in the workplace, I am generally assumed to be a white, heterosexual, middle-class graduate. I have lost count of the times someone has whispered a negative, disparaging comment to me about Asian or other minority ethnic people based on that assumption. I have sometimes replied that I am Eurasian but not always and the 'not always' has interested me; what is says about my own identity and how others see me and about why I have not been consistent in disclosure. As a twin, I have always been acutely aware of the differences between my workplace experiences and that of my sister; being male is a distinct advantage in organisational development and HR (and in the workplace generally) whereas

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[2] Self-cultivation typically refers to the process of educting oneself.

my sister had to endure endless sexism in the music industry. She escaped it by setting up her own businesses and worked successfully for herself for many years until she became disabled through multiple sclerosis. Her health is never far from my thoughts and, as the only person now working in my family, I feel a different kind of responsibility for my mother and sister. I am in some senses more paternal than fraternal, holding a role that traditionally was seen as that of the heterosexual male. As a gay man in a leadership position I represent a constituency not widely recognised. I am a representative of two of the minority groups I am seeking to explore, gay and ethnic minority, and I am considered a leader in the practice of leadership development across the board.

As I reflect on those experiences I observe that the organisations I have worked for did not have a defined strategy or philosophy for the development of minorities into leadership roles. I have led diversity interventions and these have tended to focus on developing inclusive cultures and avoiding discrimination, or attracting female talent into organisations. These have included positive action training, setting up employee networks, targeted advertising and events to attract more women into banking and technology. These were not specific to development of minorities into leadership roles. In the field of leadership and organisational development there appears to be less certainty about what is appropriate and helpful with respect to minority leadership development; or how to integrate leadership and diversity strategies in order to develop diversity within management ranks.

My work has taken into account major shifts and pressures in the environmental landscape: the demand for globally and culturally competent leaders as a result of the globalization of organisations (most of my employers have been global organisations); the financial crisis and corporate scandals (Barclays, UBS, Lehman's, Enron etc.) have again turned the spotlight onto leadership and ethics, and the Government and regulators are now placing culture and leadership at the heart of regulation. In financial services this 'tone from the top' is at the heart of regulation. As a result, I had to develop the processes for 'risk-adjusted reward' in response to those regulations to ensure that our incentive (bonus) programmes were not driving excessive risk-taking. The Parliamentary Commission on Standards in Banking has called for senior bankers to be more personally responsible (Parliamentary Commission on

Banking Standards, 2013). Following recent efforts to promote women to boardroom positions because of the recognised benefits that a diverse workforce can bring, the Commission has also highlighted the lack of women on the training floor and recommends that the main UK banks should publish a gender breakdown of their trading staff. Where there is a significant deficit of women, those banks should report on what measures they intend to take to redress the balance in the next six months and annually thereafter (Parliamentary Commission on Banking Standards 2013). More broadly, organisations recognise the need to pay attention to the environmental and societal impact of their business decisions and the diversity of their customers; in so doing they recognise the value of a workforce that reflects the demographic reality. Diverse teams may also have better problem solving skills and higher levels of innovation (Ostergaard, Timmermans and Kristinsson 2011) as diversity may balance the tendency for homogenous groups to think in similar ways. Differing views can be combined in decision-making or problem-solving potentially leading to better outcomes.

Across industry and regulatory bodies there is recognition of the importance of leadership, governance and ethics as well as increasing recognition of the importance of diversity on boards, (and in the case of banks, the trading floor). Less discussed however, are the ways in which organisations can create greater diversity by helping potential (minority) leaders to overcome the barriers they may face in reaching senior levels in organisations and supporting those minority leaders who have reached them. Approaches to leadership development rarely distinguish between the needs of different groups yet other areas of organisational research clearly show that organisational life can be different for different populations. As part of my Masters programme I examined the disadvantages women faced in organisations and found, for example, that networks did not work in the same way for women as they did for men (Brass 1985). Networks are an important aspect of organisational life but they tend to be constructed by ethnicity and gender. According to Brass's research (Brass 1985) women tended to have less diversity in their networks and as a consequence, a lack of proximity to the top of the organisation where the dominant coalition tended to be male. This may provide at least one plausible explanation for why levels of workplace segregation tend to be high. When women do not have the same quantity and quality of connections to

the top as men, they struggle to gain managerial momentum. Unlike men, who seem to be comfortable utilising their networks in order to get on, women tend to rely instead on formal promotion processes and performance evaluations. BME employees often form networks which lack diversity, proving valuable for support but not for career progression. My research (Mullen 2011) found that appreciating the fear of negative consequences to disclosure is central to understanding the experience of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual people at work; whilst sexuality is ostensibly non-work related, my research suggested that disclosure may have important implications for workplace issues such as effective working relationships, team-working, job satisfaction and well-being. Such issues are explored further in the literature review.

I am particularly interested in how organisations can best support the development of minority leaders; specifically, women, minority ethnic and LGB employees. If organisations really are serious about attracting and retaining the best talent, they must find ways to support the development of all their employees. With pressure on organisations to increase the presence of women on boards for example and the benefits of doing so (Davies 2011) there is clear value in understanding the best way to support women's leadership development. From my experience in this context, from the plethora of programmes, industry events, and articles I have read, I notice that the challenges are addressed in a siloed way but not comprehensively as a phenomenon. Further the variables are very high; it is not clear if and how diversity initiatives work.

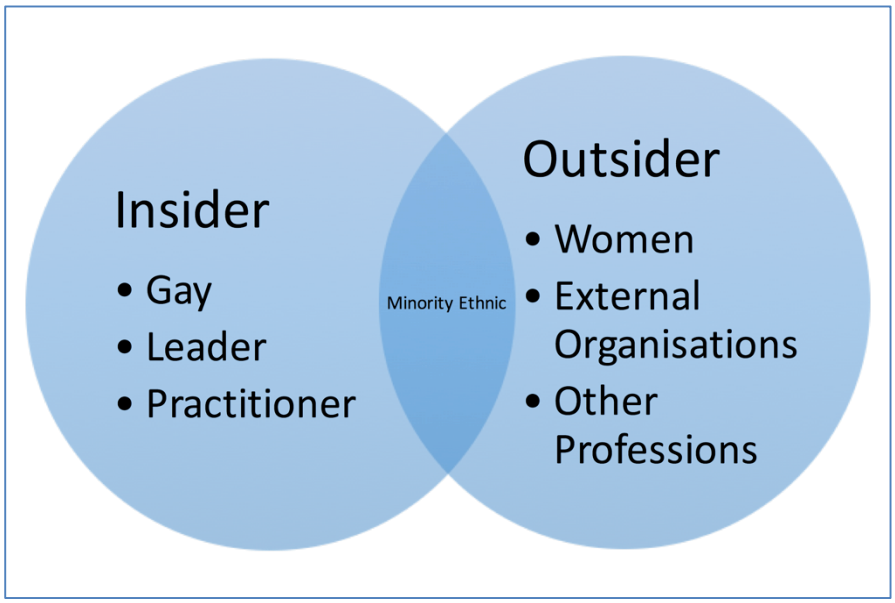
In pursuit of these ideas I have a superordinate goal in so far as I am interested in the integration of academic knowledge. Organisations make limited use of academic research; in my view a significant missed opportunity. Yet the application of evidence-based approaches in my own work in organisational development has been transformational. There is potential for this research to contribute to discussions on leadership development and diversity; to the formulation of organisational development and diversity strategies; transforming strategies into concrete actions and enriching the leadership knowledge base. This project has enabled me to demonstrate that I can design and execute a research project in

a systematic and reflexive manner, explain relevant methodological and epistemological issues in my approach and critically analyse and evaluate research outcomes.

Positioning myself as a researcher

I have come to understand that as a researcher I am located within an organisation, my profession, my background and culture and paradigms with which I have experience or which my organisation understands. These all influence the research one can conceive, what might be considered possible, what one might choose to do as researchers and how one might do it. These factors may also influence access to resources including any access I might have to participants. Production of knowledge is sometimes seen as the preserve of white, educated, men. Some knowledge is "normalised, authorised and legitimated; only certain groups are seen to be respectable, to be worthy subjects or subjects of knowledge" (Skaggs 1997:18); therefore, it is important to recognise that privilege and power are often a condition of knowledge production and what we consider to be knowledge is be in the interests of certain groups. As a researcher, I am both an insider and an outsider, a partiality of representation that has ethical and epistemological implications. How do I as a man, describe, translate, or validate the experiences of women? Is the production of knowledge about women, yet again by a man, appropriate? How do I as someone generally assumed to be European if not white, validate the experience of black and minority ethnic participants? Am I imagining myself as part of the solution when I am part of the problem, in part because, whatever the outcome, I will have a view on it and my view will be informed by my own habitus? One of Pierre Bourdieu's concerns (Bourdieu 1977) is that knowledge, especially that which we consider 'normal' or 'common sense' determines what is legitimate. Skeggs (1997) recognises that knowledge is always mediated through those discourses that are available to us to interpret and understand our experiences. However, Skeggs (1997:18) states "there is no straightforward correspondence between our circumstances and how we think: we are positioned in but not determined by our locations".

Figure 1.0 Insider-Outsider Research



As stated earlier, I am interested in the integration of professional and academic knowledge; the application of evidence-based approaches to organisational development. Practitioner research is considered practice-based or applied research and Furlong and Oancea (2005:9) suggest that it is "an area situated between academia-led theoretical pursuits and research-informed practice". Implicit in practitioner research is that the practitioners will learn from their research into their practice (which is not necessarily the case in other forms of research). Practitioner research is aimed at improving practice rather than necessarily proving hypothesis as an approach to research. That is not to say that theoretical knowledge is ignored or subordinated to practical knowledge but rather argue that in the field of practice based research, "those involved in practitioner inquiry are bound to engage with both 'theoretical' and 'practical' knowledge moving seamlessly between the two" (Groundwater-Smith and Mockler, 2006:107). If I am to have an impact in my field, I need evidence. As Costley et al (2010:4) explain: "A compelling rationale for insider-researchers is to make a difference in a work based situation….Work based research can provide evidence to influence policy and decision making, and can also make a difference to individual practice".

Drawing upon practice theories affords me, in the context of organisational studies the capacity to foreground the central role of practices. The practice theoretical lens adopts "the idea that practices (in one way or another) are fundamental to the production, reproduction, and transformation of social and organisational matters" (Nicolini 2012:14). More generally, I find that my work can be consuming and, like other leaders, I need occasionally to 'lift my head'. I find studying and reading helps me to take a step back, to reflect, and untangle organisational challenges, something that can be difficult when I am at work. Practice theories are inherently relational and I am interested not just in understanding more about leadership development and organisational change through practice-based research, but in achieving a better understanding of my own position in relation to the people and organisations that I serve. It is also relational as in the relationship between things, the interconnectedness that is manifested clearly when one thinks about practice rather than discipline or paradigm content.

Purpose, Aims and Objectives of the Research Project

Purpose

The purpose of the research is to create conditions for greater diversity in leadership positions by examining the leadership challenges and development needs of Women, LGB and BME leaders. This includes providing insight into the challenges these leaders face in moving into leadership positions and what specific leadership development interventions, if any, are helpful in helping them to transition into leadership positions and in helping them to be successful once in those positions. In particular, I am interested in critical learning experiences that have been supportive in setting minority leaders up for success. I also hope to shed light on obstacles participants have overcome to achieve success and promotion within their respective fields and what might be helpful in removing or navigating those obstacles. I have not included transgendered leaders in my research; it is an area with which I am much less familiar where I have very limited access to participants and so I would do a disservice to the transgendered community if I was unable to fully capture or account for their experiences. My overall purpose then is to contribute to both knowledge and practice in the field of leadership.

Aims

This particular research project aims to build on existing knowledge of leadership development specifically in order to develop existing and emerging leaders including Women, BME and LGB leaders. The research aims to surface the challenges minority leaders faced in moving into and becoming successful in leadership positions and to provide visibility about their experiences as leaders. In doing so, the research may inform contemporary approaches to leadership development, taking into account the demographic realities of today's workplace.

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

In the context of organisational development, that is, changing organisations, I hope that the research will extrapolate what specifically is important for minority leaders versus what is important for leaders generally. This will support my work in helping organisations that want to create a more diverse leadership by, for example, recommending specific development programmes for under-represented groups at leadership levels or challenging organisational structures and practices that hinder the creation of meritocratic and inclusive environments.

The research also has these supplementary aims:

1. To provide the conditions for minority leaders to voice their ideas and thinking in safety
2. To enable minority leaders to use their voice in the service of leadership development
3. To gather the voices to challenge perceptions and provide data in order to make a persuasive case for change

Objectives

To achieve these aims the research has the following objectives:

1. To identify the specific challenges and their underlying causes which hinder the progress of Women, LGB and BME leaders
2. To recheck the literature available
3. To identify interventions in terms of leadership development that might be valuable if made available to Women, LGB or BME leaders
4. To provide reliable data so that I can make an impact on the organisations and professions in which I work

Impact

At the outset, it was important to me that the research would have practical implications for my practice and the potential for this project to inform several areas of my work. The process of carrying out the research and the findings needed to have the potential to influence the following:

1. Leadership Development Programmes: what needs to be included or changed in programmes that I deliver or commission in order to ensure that they properly support Women, BME and LGB leaders? What models or paradigms need to be challenged?
2. Coaching: What can be included in the coaching process that might be valuable in areas such as:
    a. Educating women and minority ethnic leaders about the need for sponsorship versus mentoring?
    b. Help in reconciling authenticity as a leader with fears about the consequences of disclosure for LGB leaders?
3. Talent Management; what needs to be considered when I design leadership attributes and competencies (for selection, promotion, high potential work etc.) that takes into account the needs of Women, BME and LGB leaders? How can I identify and

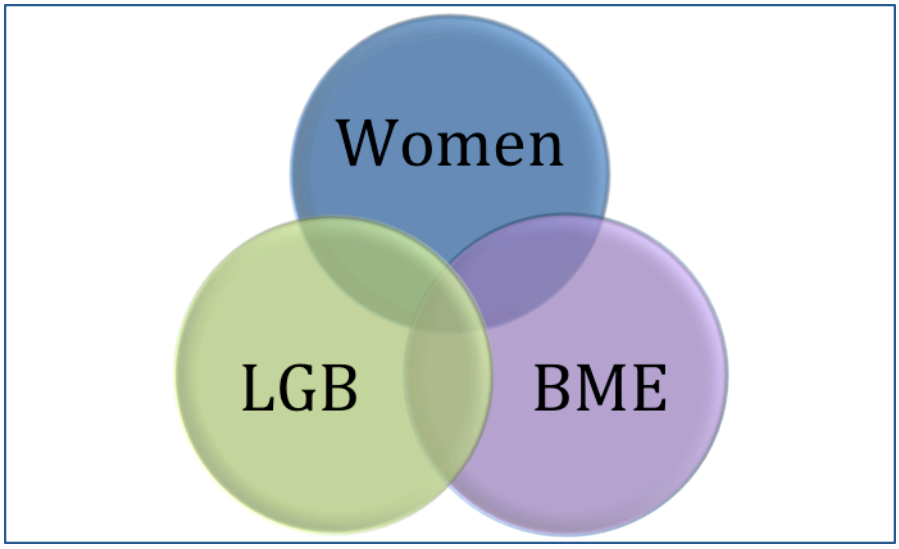
incorporate the particular gifts and talents that minority leaders bring that are not currently being leveraged?

4. Organisational Change; Is there another way to examine organisational life to better understand the experience of minority leaders?

Researcher Assumptions

In carrying out this research I have assumed that some of the experiences and obstacles of Women, LGB and BME participants are likely to be different; in other words, that the experiences of women are likely to be different from LGB leaders and again from BME leaders. However, other experiences may be similar. A Venn diagramme perhaps represents this most effectively. Of course, some participants may fit into more than one category.

Figure 2.0 Intersections between Women, LGB and BME Experiences



In researching those in leadership roles, I am assuming leadership roles mean that in some way participants influence others to accomplish an objective (Northouse 2007). I am not assuming that they have direct line or people management responsibility; for the purposes of this research, those directing or supervising work, such as a project manager for example,

would be assumed to be in a leadership role. Individual contributors are those whose skills are primarily technical or professional, and occupy roles where their responsibility does not extend beyond their own work and actions. They have not yet been promoted into a management role and have not been included in this project. I use the terms ‘leadership’ and ‘management’ interchangeably; there has been a tendency in recent years to lionise ‘leadership’ and denigrate ‘management’ when they may in fact be the same thing. Participants were asked if their organisations made a distinction and whether they considered themselves to be a ‘Leader’ or a ‘Manager’. The term ‘Minority’ is used to denote people who in terms of gender, ethnicity or sexuality are not in the majority in leadership ranks in their corporations or organisations. These begin to signpost the areas of the knowledge landscape that I have explored before during and after the fieldwork and the necessity of the range.

Knowledge, or its interpretation and application, or indeed what motivates the choice of some and not others, is a key influence on practices and policies in my sector and therefore a core component of what constitutes the context in which my research has taken. The following section looks at the areas of knowledge which have been valuable in informing my practice and in steering this research.

Literature Review

Rationale for the choices

The attention to extensive literature in this project is necessary to cover the large number of variables when involved in any exploration of diversity and to inform an appropriate research design. The research design needed to be one that could capture a range of experiences through methods that would ensure reliable findings. It is a considerable responsibility to ensure reliability as decisions can be made on that evidence which impact peoples' lives and organisational health and viability. Returning to Maguire (2017) who puts personal and professional integrity at the core of any research decision-making and activity: "If we look at any research undertaking as moving from description to a knowledge narrative that is, something is finally produced that embodies the knowledge and the knowing of the researcher, a knowing which has emerged from the constant interaction of the researcher with the people and things which have come to populate the research activity, then the strongest thread of coherence is the personal and professional integrity of the researcher. Without this honesty, trustworthiness and wholeness the work is neither valid nor reliable. The responsibility of any actions taken based on this work is the responsibility of the person who produced it. Returning to the lexicon of integrity, we may all want to ask ourselves if our research is honest; truthful; trustworthy; virtuous; ethical, moral, principled; coherent; whole; fair and honourable and whether these attributes are evident in our work for others to see or experience".

The literature review also needed to inform the research design and the questions that would be important to ask and how the results might be interpreted which in itself indicates whether it is a contribution to knowledge as well as practice. The research focus being on more than one identity grouping, the literature also needed to extend its coverage to be inclusive of thinking and advances both within each group and steps made in the integration of each of these groups and to extract commonalities and differences between them. More literature appears to be available about women in leadership and programmes and interventions for

women seem to be more established. It was interesting to explore whether anything could be learned from discourses on women's issues that could illuminate the issues of the other groupings who had experienced direct or indirect discrimination. A thorough exploration of the literature provides a data source for triangulation of the data and criteria for validity.

Sources

I have looked at a broad range of sources – research, journals, professional reports and regulation. I have focused on research from 1985 to the present day in order to cover the period of organisational interest in diversity (or equal opportunities). A list of relevant UK equalities legislation is included in Appendix A). I have included research from the US as well as Europe as the US is a major resource for cutting edge literature on organisational behaviour and equality issues. Further, in my experience, much of the content of contemporary UK leadership development practice comes from US practitioners. I have sought research which addresses specific organisational challenges that minority groups face and to try to discover what, if anything, is recommended for addressing those challenges.

Development in organisations

The transition to a management position can be challenging for everyone; often employees are promoted as a result of being high performers and wish to continue doing what made them successful. They are reluctant to make the behavioural and value-based transitions needed to be successful in management roles (Charan, Drotter and Noel 2001). Development programmes for employees making the transition to management are generally designed to focus on generic skills and behaviours needed for managerial effectiveness such as planning and organising, supervising, monitoring, and coordinating (Yukl 2010) and are largely based on existing managerial theory (Bass 2008). As managers were mainly white men when popular management and leadership theory was developed, management education and development may reflect (white) male needs and ways of learning without accounting for the position of women and other minorities in organisations (Vinnicombe and Singh 2003). Even at executive education level, programmes such as MBAs may reinforce male dominance through a masculinised set of practices (Sinclair 1995, 1997). Practitioners may need to rethink leadership development, so that minorities can attain and success in management positions.

The Position of Women in Organisations

An obvious metric by which to consider the position of women in organisations is how they are paid compared to men. Some thirty years after the equal pay act, significant differentials in pay between men and women remain. The Government Equalities Office (Olsen et al 2010) found that from 2004-07 the pay gap for *full-time* working women was around 15 per cent. This compared with compared with 18 per cent in 1995–97. Overall the pay gap between men and women fell from 24 per cent during the period 1995–97 to 19 per cent in 2004–07. The GEO found that "the largest single cause of the gender pay gap to be gender, i.e. 'unobserved characteristics correlated with gender, followed by occupational segregation, formal education and institutional factors" (Olsen et al 2010:31). Although the pay gap between men and women working full-time has fallen, the pay gap between women working full-time and women working part-time actually has widened over the past 30 years (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2010).

The disadvantaged position of women in organisations is not limited to pay. Vertical gender segregation, one explanation for the pay differential, is a feature of the structure of women's employment. Women remain under-represented in higher status and higher paid jobs (Fagan and Burchell 2010). Cranfield's *The Female FTSE Board Report* 2009 (Sealy et al 2009) found just 12.2% women directors on the FTSE 100 boards. Worryingly this was a decline on the previous year: the number of companies with female executive directors had dropped from 16 to 15 and the number of boards with multiple women directors dropped from 39 to 37. By 2016 progress had been made following the *Davies Review* (Davies 2011) which recommended that 25% of board positions be filled by women by 2015. This target was reached (26.1% achieved), a significant milestone. However, between 2015 and 2016 new appointments going to women were only 24.7% suggesting that the pace of change stagnated once the target had been reached (Sealy et al 2016).

Occupational (horizontal) segregation can also be observed with women over-represented in certain sectors and job types. Nearly 40% of jobs occupied by women are in the public

sector, and women account for 77% of secretarial and administrative posts. Although the proportion of women in leadership and professional roles has increased, by 2009 women accounted for only one third of these job types. Data from the Equality and Human Rights Commission showed that 6% of engineering and 13% of ICT posts were held by women and 14% of architects, planners and surveyors were women (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2010). Consistent with dominant ideas about their nurturing and family roles (Blackwell 2001), there is still a concentration of women in caring and service work.

Explaining the Disadvantaged Position of Women - Person-Centred Theories

One explanation for the disadvantaged position of women in organisations might be that women are socialised differently and simply prefer to make different career and life choices. Hakim (2006: 280) states that there is evidence that women and men have different preferences in their work and labour market behaviour as a result of "broader differences in life goals, the relative importance of competitiveness versus consensus-seeking values, and the relative importance of family life and careers". She criticises the idea that the organisational discrimination is the cause of this disadvantaged position of women and the idea that all jobs can be reconfigured into "family friendly formats". Some jobs roles, she argues, simply require long working hours or extensive travel. In explaining occupation segregation, Hakim's 'Preference Theory' (2006) subordinates the role of social structure and economic environment to the heterogeneity of female preferences and priorities. Given the choice, she says, women will choose one of three different lifestyles: home-centred, work-centred or adaptive (where women will try to combine both work and family). She dismisses as "myth" the idea that women are victims of their situation (Hakim 1995) but rather that occupational segregation serves as social function in accommodating the women's career choices. Hakim's work has been criticised not least because her preference theory does not account for the complexity and range of cognitive processes that facilitate preference formation or even that preferences may change over time (Leahy and Doughney 2006). Hakim also fails to take into account the prevailing discriminatory circumstances, which may inform those very preferences, streaming women into limited options and effectively reinforcing their position.

Heider's attribution theory (Heider 1944), a social cognitive theory of motivation, may be another lens for examining women's position in organisations. Attribution theory attempts to understand how people explain their successes and failures, locating causal attributions along three dimensions: 1. internal or external; 2. stable or unstable 3. controllable or uncontrollable. Some research suggests that women and men might credit their successes differently: men tend to attribute success to their own ability and women credit their success to hard work or outside help (Felder et al 1995). Both men and women may cognitively link success to 'maleness' (Feldman-Summers and Keisler 1974). Further women may exhibit lower confidence in their abilities which in turn is self-fulfilling.

Situation-Centred Explanations - Gender Typing of Roles

A situation-centred explanation for the disadvantaged position of women is the gender-typing of roles. Schein (1973, 1975) demonstrates that managerial positions are gender-typed as a male occupation – "Think manager, think male". In the context of the time in which he was writing that, both men and women believed that the characteristics required of successful middle managers were perceived as more usually held by men than by women. This perception may create a psychological barrier to the advancement of women in management (Schein et al 1996) and this is likely to lead to discrimination in selection, placement, promotion and access to training or for management positions. According to research by Adler and Izraeli (1988), the most important hurdle in industrialised countries is the stereotype of male management the consequence of which is the assignment of women to supportive roles and men to leadership roles (Harris 1981). Other research suggests that women have been socialised to possess traits such as warmth, kindness and selflessness and these are seen to be inconsistent with the profile of a manager who is "aggressive, forceful, rational, competitive, decisive, strong, self-confident and independent" (Yukongdi and Benson 2005:3). These gender stereotypes are particularly problematic because they assume that feminine and masculine behaviours are mutually exclusive narrowing the range of effective leadership behaviours for both women *and* men. Women face a double bind when their leadership behaviours are measured against a masculine norm; when they act in

ways that are consistent with gender stereotypes they are viewed as too soft, yet they are considered unfeminine and too tough if they act in ways that are inconsistent with such stereotypes (Catalyst 2007). Despite the literature spanning several decades, it is interesting to note the lack of shift; that management is still gender-typed as male and this would also reflect my professional experience.

Networks

According to research by Tassier (2008) around half of all jobs are filled through referral hiring. Since networks tend to be constructed by ethnicity and gender and they are an important aspect of organisational life, this may provide one plausible explanation for the high levels of workplace segregation. Although women build networks equally well they tend not to differentiate between formal and informal organisational structures and when they do network they tend to do so with their own gender (Brass 1985). With less diversity in their networks women have fewer sponsors and a corresponding lack of proximity to the dominant coalition at the top of organisations which tends to be male. Women struggle to gain managerial momentum without the same quality and quantity of networks as men, relying instead on formal promotion processes and performance evaluations (Cannings and Montmarquette 1991). Too much similarity in their networks restricts access to discrepant information which can include information about pay levels in and across occupations, resulting in pay expectations which are lower than their male colleagues' expectations (Belliveau 2005). Mentoring can assist women in progressing their career (Hersbey et al 2009), but despite this, women appear to suffer a double disadvantage in relation to finding a mentor. Firstly, research suggests that men and women prefer interacting with members of the same sex at work (Larwood and Blackmore 1978) and of course there are fewer women at the top of organisations who can act as mentors. Second, the limited access to the male networks also limits opportunities to interact with a male mentor who "may have a wider base of power, may help set realistic career goals, may provide greater visibility to important organisation members, and may have access to more valuable resources than a female mentor" (Noe 1988:67).

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

Social Dominance Theory

Why should networks be so influential? Kandola (2009) argues that power is not distributed evenly throughout organisations, creating dominant groups and a propensity for discrimination. Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius et al 2004) explains that societies are stratified by sex, age, and other various groups including nationality, religion, ethnicity etc. These groups are then ordered into social hierarchies with a hegemonic or dominant group at the top and the subordinate groups below. Members of the dominant group are, according to Social Dominance Theory, more likely to hold 'legitimising myths' or anti-egalitarian beliefs in order to retain their position at the top of the hierarchy. These 'legitimising myths' support the notion that the subordinate groups are inferior and that dominant groups deserve their status and claims to privilege. Prejudice occurs when the status of the dominant group is threatened. Tajfel and Turner (1986) find that the threat's primary influence is on the dominant group's collective self-esteem. Social Dominance Theory may then explain the importance of networks as they help men to sustain a dominant hierarchy and for women they form an invisible, impenetrable barrier –a 'glass ceiling'. Social Dominance Theory also explains why diversity efforts for women (and other groups) may not always be successful. Organisations may not overtly discriminate but (and in common with practice theory) its practices will reinforce the hierarchy by steering members of the dominant group "towards the benefits and outcomes that have always been their 'due'" (Kandola 2009:81).

Working Hours

The length and structure of working hours in Britain impact on women's ability to network as well as perceptions of women's commitment to the organisation. British employees who wish to progress up the corporate ladder have to visibly demonstrate commitment to the organisation which may require long working hours. Women's competing family and work demands mean not only that they may find it difficult to work the same hours as men but also that they cannot participate in informal social events with colleagues or clients. This can deny them access to information which might be helpful to success in their roles or to the networks and personal recommendations that are valuable for securing other job roles and promotions (Simpson 1998). Consistent with Social Dominance Theory, research into

women in leadership finds that men create environments which make it harder for women to do well, for example by engaging in ‘macho’ and heightened competitive behaviours (Kanter 1977). Once such behaviour is ‘competitive presenteeism’ (Simpson 1998) where long hours are not just a test of manhood but an act of resistance to women in the organisation. Conducting business on the golf course or in the pub signals to women that they have no place in the management hierarchy.

It is a mistake to assume that all women are caregivers or that the primary caregiver in a family will be ‘the’ or ‘a’ woman especially given the more recent legitimisation of other families such as single parent, common-law, or same-sex and other groups may struggle with presenteeism. Research by Bryon (2005) found that gender was not a significant factor anyway in either work interference with family or family interference with work. Gender stereotypes do persist and continue to influence managers’ perceptions of women and assumed work-family conflict. Managers are more likely to notice information that confirms and reinforces their biases for example in recalling times when women with children leave early than when they leave late (Rhode 2003). Bosses may perceive differences between their male and female employees in work and family conflict and make judgements that women are less attendant and committed to the organisation. The consequences of this are differences in performance evaluations, desirable assignments and rewards (Hoobler 2007). The dominant career model in organisations is male, continuous, linear and uninterrupted (Sirianni and Negrey 2000) and even well-intentioned family-friendly policies and support can actually serve to draw attention to work-family conflict (Hoobler 2007) and reinforce the notion of women as primary caregivers (Jones 2008). So, given that in an organisational setting women face a considerable range of barriers, some outlined above, how then can leadership development interventions support women more effectively? Clearly there is a need, for example, to educate women about the need for sponsorship as opposed to networking or mentoring but also for organisations to reflect on the practices that hinder women in progressing to leadership positions.

Black and Ethnic Minority Leaders

Existing research suggests that whites are viewed as more competent for management positions than members of minority groups (Greenhaus and Parasuraman 1993; Tomkiewicz, Brenner and Adeyemi-Bello 1998) and that white men appear to have a promotion advantage into and within leadership ranks. Leadership categorization theory posits that leaders will be evaluated as most effective when they are perceived to possess prototypical characteristics of leadership (Lord et al 1984, Lord & Maher 1991). According to research by Leonardelli, Phillips, and Rosette (2008), being white was found to be more central to the prototype of a business leader category and less central to the non-business leader category (i.e. employees). Research in the US has also shown that White managers have greater career advancement opportunities than African American managers (Maume 1999). Maume's longitudinal study showed that, controlling for personal and job-related factors, White men were 52% more likely to be promoted in their careers than African American men. With more white men to choose from it might be argued that changes are to enable ethnic minority employees to succeed earlier in their careers.

There may also be differences in the evaluation of Black and Ethnic minority leaders compared to their white counterparts. Carton and Rosette (2011) found that black leaders in the US were perceived to be more incompetent than white leaders in the context of failure leading to a stereotype of incompetence. Interestingly, they found that following a black leader's success, a non-leader attribute was applied, but a leader attribute applied after failure. In order words, if a black leader was successful it was due to another compensatory factor, but if they failed, it was due to a lack of a leadership competence. This perpetuates the belief that black leaders are incompetent across situations. Whilst much of this research is US-centric, research in the UK by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Hudson et al 2013) found that a mismatch between ethnic identities and the organisational expectations and norms for managerial roles were perceived to be factors in the lack of promotion opportunities for ethnic minorities and that the lack of ethnic minority role models in managerial positions served to both reinforce and reproduce progression ceilings.

In common with women, research finds that networks do not work in the same way for black employees as they might do for white employees. In the US where 40-50% of jobs are found through friends or relatives, high levels of social segregation mean that employees referred to fill vacancies tend to be of the same ethnicity (Mouw 2002). Social network theory may also help to explain the interdependence of careers and networks (Granovetter 2005) in so far as a 'structural hole' exists between white employers and non-white job seekers in urban areas and may explain discriminatory hiring practices (Fairchild & Robinson 2004). If Black and Ethnic minority workers struggle to get into the workplace in the first instance, then their chances of subsequently moving into leadership positions are, arguably, diminished.

Lesbians, Gay and Bisexual Employees

In 1967 Homosexuality was decriminalised across most of the UK. It was 1980 in Scotland. In 1993 the government removed homosexuality from the list of psychological disorders in England and Wales. In 2000 Scotland removed homosexuality from the list of psychological disorders. The age of consent was not equalised until 2001, and until 2003 discrimination against LGBT people was entirely lawful. It was not until 2007 that discrimination in the provision of goods and services to LGBT people was outlawed. There are approximately 3.6 million lesbian, gay and bisexual people in Britain (5-7% of total population) with around 1.7 million Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual people in UK workforce (Aspinall 2009). Research suggests that anything between 25% and 66% of lesbian, gay and bisexual employees have experienced discrimination at work (Croteau 1996). Nearly one in five Lesbian and Gay people have experienced homophobic bullying in the workplace during the last five years (Stonewall 2007). The Employment Protection Act 2003 brought employment protection to sexual minorities for the first time, nearly thirty years after similar protective legislation was passed for gender and race (1975 and 1976 respectively).

There are aspects of the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual experience which are different to other minority groups; the decision about whether to disclose is not one faced by women or black employees for example. 'Coming out' is something that, because of the presumption of heterosexuality, lesbians and gay men have to do continually (Schope 2002). Many of the unique workplace issues which affect Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees are concerned with the largely invisible nature of sexual identity, the fear of disclosure and the degree to which their sexual identity can be managed. Yet research on the identity of sexual minorities in organisations is rare and has been largely ignored by the organisational studies and diversity literatures (Ward &Winstanley 2004). The experience of sexual minorities remains one of the most taboo topics in organisational theory (Hancock and Tyler 2001) and so we know little about the experiences of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual people at work. As such, organisations lack the "knowledge, tool and resources" to effectively address Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual issues in the workplace (Powers 1996:79).

Previous research suggests that there is some variation in the degree to which lesbian, gay and bisexual workers will disclose their sexual orientation in the workplace (Anderson et al 2001) and that strategies employed by Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees for managing their sexual identity include passing as heterosexual, censoring information about themselves and their lives, being implicitly out and being explicitly out at work (Griffin 1992). The degree of openness is related to attempts by Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees to manage or avoid potential workplace discrimination and hostility. These variations may have implications for aspects of job satisfaction and other workplace attitudes as well as performance, and the pressure to remain 'in the closet' may be a source of stress and anxiety (Day and Schoenrade 1997). Research by Stonewall found that employees who can be open about their sexuality "are more likely to enjoy going to work, feel able to be themselves, form honest relationships with their colleagues, are more confident, and ultimately more productive" (Stonewall 2008:3). In addition, measures to recruit and support Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees reaps other benefits for companies; for example, six in ten gay people, equivalent to over two million British consumers, are more likely to buy products if they think a company is gay-friendly (Stonewall 2007).

However, while research has established that Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees manage their identity in the workplace, we do not know what this means for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual leaders. The experiences of BP CEO Lord Browne and MP David Laws[3] demonstrate the challenges of managing sexual identity when holding leadership roles. How can LGB leaders be 'authentic' if they feel they must engage in what is effectively a self-preservation strategy? I hope this research can offer an opportunity to better understand the social and emotional pressures that Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual leaders face at work and in doing so better inform organisations' diversity and inclusion agendas.

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[3]Lord Browne stood down as chief executive of BP following allegations about his relationship with a same-sex partner and (unfounded) claims about misuse of company assets. MP David Laws resigned from government after he was found to be claiming expenses on a rental property owned by his same-sex partner.

Leadership

In defining leadership and leadership development it is important to be clear about ontological assumptions that are applied in this research to 'Leadership'. There is a plethora of definitions of leadership often defined by researchers according to their individual perspectives and the areas of leadership phenomenon in which they are most interested (Yukl 2010). Additionally, there is debate about the difference if any, between leadership and management. Definitions of leadership generally assume that there is some influence over people by a leader, in order to achieve some kind of organisational task or goal. Leadership and indeed management may well be contextual: some organisations consider managers and leaders to be those who hold roles that involve direct responsibility for people; in others having subordinates is not a requirement in order hold a management or leadership role. It is not possible in this research to resolve the differences of opinion or to provide a definitive definition of leadership. Instead I am proposing an operational definition of leadership that can be used for this research. This is:

'Employees who are in roles with overall responsibility for controlling and coordinating a process, people or project in order to achieve defined objectives'

Theoretical framework

A search of the British Library catalogue of 'Leadership' offers over 70,000 entries. A scan of the business sections of any bookshop reveals the volume and range of ideas on leadership as well as the velocity with which views about leadership are now propagated; some perhaps are claim rich and theory poor. It is not my intention in reviewing the literature to be exhaustive but rather provide an overview of the main theories, which are western theories from the beginning of the 20th century and to identify potential gaps in relation to minority leaders.

Figure 3.0 Leadership Theories from Leadership: All you need to know (Pendleton and Furnham 2011)

Approach	Period	Dominant Ideals
Scientific Management	1910s	Managers apply science in planning and work design. Works perform tasks.
Trait Theory	1920s	Leadership is understood by identifying traits and characteristics of great leaders.
Style Theory	1950s	Leadership effectiveness is explained and developed by identifying appropriate styles and behaviours.
Contingency Theory	1960s	Leadership is practised differently according to the situation – situational leadership.
Charismatic Theory	1970s	Leadership is concerned with the charisma of leaders and their ability to transform an organisation.
New Leadership Neo-Charismatic Theory	1980s	Leadership and Management are different Leaders require a transformation focus and behaviours in addition to charisma

Emerging Approaches a) Strategic Leadership b) Change Leadership	Late 1990s	a) Leadership is understood in the contact of strategic decision-making b) Leadership is linked to the management of change and the ability to deliver change
Re-emergence of Trait Theory	2000s	Meta-analytic studies of the Big 5 personality characteristics and their impact on leader effectiveness and employee engagement.

Leadership Development

Contemporary leadership development interventions range from training, to coaching and mentoring, 360-degree assessments and different forms of appraisal. Broadly leadership development focuses on the following (Hamil 2013): 1. **Theories and models** which enable leaders to make sense of organisational life, sometimes using case studies; 2. **Developing skills and behaviours** such as giving feedback, making strategic choices, applying leadership styles, presentation skills and coaching; 3. **Self-awareness** through 360 feedback, psychometric instruments, reflection etc.

The contextual relevance of leadership development practices and the limitations associated with generic application are frequently criticized (Pinnington 2011, Debrah and Rees 2010; Goh 2010). If there are differences in organisational life for minority employees, then arguably those differences are likely to impact leadership and leadership development. From the literature review, and indeed my own experience of developing and sourcing leadership development programmes, few address the specific leadership development challenges of women, LGB or BME leaders. Development programmes or coaching for women are becoming increasingly available, but as stated earlier it is unclear whether their content has a sound theoretical base or whether they are simply a marketing opportunity in response to more recent concerns about the lack of women at the top of organisations. Sheryl Sandberg, Facebook COO has recently published her book *Lean In* (Sandberg 2013) and this provides a comprehensive account of her personal challenges as well as references to useful research. Whilst it has been very well received, it is highly anecdotal and does not specifically address leadership development for women. I have been able to uncover almost nothing that relates to LGB or BME leadership development and little that can provide useful, practical recommendations, tools or frameworks which can be incorporated into my practice. This gap provides a valuable and timely opportunity to step back, and undertake research with these specific leadership groups.

Practice Theory

As I progressed through the research project is became clear that existing conceptual tools to understand diversity such as template analysis, law, statistics, were not in themselves adequate in uncovering the reasons for lack of diversity at leadership levels or in explaining the sluggish pace of change and a broader spectrum of thinking was required. I was directed to practice theory and extended my study and the literature research to include practice theory.

What is Practice Theory?

There no universally accepted coherent or definitive 'practice theory'. Rather there is a 'practice approach' developed through a body of work by various thinkers, sociologists, cultural theorists and theorists of science and technology (Postill 2010). Practice Theorists in each of these four main groups identified by Theodor Schatzki (2001) are: *The philosophers* (Wittgenstein, Dreyfus, Taylor); *The social theorists* (Bourdieu, Giddens); *The cultural theorists* (Foucault, Lyotard); *The theorists of science and technology* (Latour, Rouse, Pickering).

Practice theory (or more accurately, practice theories since they are a collection of theoretical approaches) offers a different and potentially more powerful lens to view organisations. Practice theories foreground activity (practices) and processes and in doing so uncover the 'taken for granted'; the durable features of social structures including those which constitute organisational life and those which reproduce inequality in the workplace. A practice approach to research "Emphasizes that behind all apparently durable features of our world…there is some kind of productive and reproductive work" (Nicolini 2012:6). This is important in the context of this research for several reasons: 1) in order to 'intervene' so that minority leaders can progress, it is necessary to understand the nature of and durability of the practices which are hindering progression; 2) practice theory helps to uncover the relational nature of practices and associated power differentials; discrimination, and disadvantage, are

inherently relative, that is, one group is treated less favourably than another; 3) practice theory may surface the tacit knowledge and rules which direct individuals' actions and the inequalities they reproduce; 4) practice theory may bring into view activities which are situated in organisational life and shaped by habits without reflection but may also reveal something of the nature of the broader (and even global) social landscape. In other words, we may be able to access the general through specifics; what we discover in organisational life, may reflect society more broadly; 5) practice theory focuses the researcher' eye on real experiences and activities; thus, the main epistemic object is what people *do* rather than what they are.

This is important in addressing the subject of diversity in leadership; we are not trying to reconfigure minority leaders, but rather reconfigure their experiences. In order to understand what contributes or indeed causes those experiences, it is necessary to unravel the rules, assumptions and practices of organisational life. This requires a view of the system without accepting the system as a given; practice theory can help us to understand "from where such systems originate…how these enduring features of our daily 'being in the world' are produced, kept in place and reproduced" (Nicolini, 2012:41). My main review of practice theory focuses on the work of Pierre Bourdieu as his theory is particularly helpful in this research.

Pierre Bourdieu

In introducing Pierre Bourdieu, I believe it is important to provide some description of his background, as the genesis of his life's work is rooted in his early life. His journey from his working-class background to his research interests echoes my own journey and indeed his life story provides a very vivid context and explanation of his theoretical framework in its own right and one which, as will be discussed in more detail further on, has contributed significantly to understanding the complexities of our responses to diversity . His theoretical framework aims to show the relationships that connect practices to educational capital and social origin. Bourdieu was born in southwest France on 1 August 1930, during

the year of peace between World Wars I and II. France had suffered significant human, social and economic losses during and post-World War I. He came from rural beginnings as the son of a postman. He left the region having won entry into the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris which prepared him for t the prestigious École Normale Supérieure (one of the so-called Grande Ecoles) where he studied philosophy. In 1955, after teaching for a year Bourdieu was drafted into the French army to complete his national service and sent to Algeria at the height of its Liberation War (1956–1962) a formative experience for him. During his time in Algeria he began an empirical inquiry into the effects of colonial transformation. When he returned to France, he became Director of Studies at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris and later founded a research centre and assembled a research group to study symbolic power, and social inequality.

Perhaps because of his experiences in Algeria, his sense of dislocation from his roots, and the limitations of his impressive education to explain the mechanics of colonialism and social inequality he began working on the creation of a new ethnographic-sociological paradigm seeking to reconcile or transcend the oppositions he saw in social sciences between concepts such as structuralist objectivism and constructivist subjectivism, freedom and determinism. His concepts of habitus, capital, and field, proposed in his book *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu 1977), were conceived to transcend these oppositions. For Bourdieu, the key to understanding human action is through understanding 'practice'. In Bourdieu's terminology that can mean both convention and discipline; doing things in a way which is customary (for example a wedding customs) or practicing a particular skill such as playing an instrument. So, human action is practical in (at least) two senses of the term: first, action is comprised of practices and second, action is also directed towards some kind of outcome. In Bourdieu's theory of practice, three main concepts are involved: Habitus, Field and Capital.

Habitus

Human behaviour is a factor of its context; to understand the meaning and drivers of the behaviour it is necessary to understand the practical context in which it is situated. Bourdieu uses the term 'habitus' to refer to accumulated and embodied habits, skills, and

dispositions that we possess. He refers to habitus as a 'feel for the game' embedded in individual and collective consciousness that is the consequence of, among other factors, upbringing, class, education, family cultural tastes, particular social or ethnic group. Bourdieu wrote of habitus: "The habitus, embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history, is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu 1990:56). Habitus is in effect, the socialised norms or dispositions that guide our thinking and so our behaviour. It is the way society becomes accumulated and integrated into a person in the form of durable tendencies or capabilities and their structured propensities to think, feel and act in particularly ways.

Habitus may have the following forms:

Corporeal: mainly relating to motor skills

Cognitive: Reflective sense mediated from the corporeal or from our experiences more generally

Practical: A practical non-reflective cognitive sense emerging from experience (non-corporeal). Whilst some experience might be corporeal, social experience is not.

It is not fixed or permanent but might change over time and in response to unexpected situations. Bourdieu tried to understand how behaviour could be regulated without some kind of compliance to rules. As Grenfell (2008:49) states: "Social practices are characterized by regularities – working-class kids tend to get working-class jobs (as Willis 1977 put it), middle-class readers tend to enjoy middlebrow literature, and so forth – yet there are no explicit rules dictating such practices". Individuals do exercise agency but within existing social norms and rules. Therefore, we are not entirely free agents and our behaviour is socially constrained; Bourdieu's concept of habitus attempts to describe how these socialised norms or social forces direct behaviour and thinking. He uses the term 'disposition' as a way of bring together the idea of structure and 'ways of being' (Bourdieu 1977). Habitus helps to conceptually reconcile the idea of social structure and individual

agency, the interdependence between the objective and the subjective. "Habitus links the social and the individual because the experiences of one's life course may be unique in their particular contents but are shared in terms of their structure with others of the same social class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, occupation, nationality, region and so forth" (Grenfell 2008:52). More than that, it attempts to explain how outer social influences and our inner self shape each other "the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality" (Bourdieu 1977:72). There are two sides of habitus: *structured structure* - mainly non-reflective sense, our way of being, an habitual state; *structuring structure* - practices generated by dispositions; practices have an organising action.

Habitus is generative; what it has structured, then structures. For instance, if we follow the example of children who grow up in a working-class home, they might be socialised to assume they can only attain working-class jobs and so they will only seek and obtain working class jobs. In this case, their habitus reproduces the field as blue collar jobs are repeatedly filled by people from working class backgrounds and white-collar jobs remained filled by people from middle class backgrounds. Each generation does not create the world anew but joins and contributes to a social world which is already structured. Indeed, one of the strengths of habitus is 'as a theory of reproduction' (Calhoun 1993). Habitus might be said to work invisibly producing and reproducing social order pre-consciously even though in itself it only exists through an individual's actual actions. As Bourdieu explains: "This means that our object becomes the production of the habitus, that system of dispositions which acts as mediation between structures and practice; more specifically, it becomes necessary to study the laws that determine the tendency of structures to reproduce themselves by producing agents endowed with the system of predispositions which is capable of engendering practices adapted to the structures and thereby contributing to the reproduction of the structures." (Bourdieu 1977:64)

In the context of this research understanding habitus may be helpful in so far as "Habitus is a concept that orients our ways of constructing objects of study, highlighting issues of significance and providing a means of thinking relationally about those issues" (Grenfell

2012:49). What Bourdieu's work offers is a whole system approach and a way into understanding Social dominance and legitimising myths. It may also be helpful in understanding and refuting ideas that some groups are naturally disposed to leadership positions and others are not; rather it is habitus that may play a role in the structuring of career expectations and experiences. There is also value in considering Bion's Theory of Assumptive Cultures (Bion 1998) and his work on groups as they too illuminate unconscious group life. Bion argues that a group will prompt its members to endorse certain ideas, attitudes and shared beliefs and in doing so define 'correct' behaviour, rituals and status structures to which its members must comply: "the unanimous expression of the will of the group, contributed to by the individual in ways of which he is unaware, influencing him disagreeably whenever he thinks or behaves in a manner at variance with the basic assumptions" (Bion, 1998:65).

Field

Habitus does not alone produce practice, however. Bourdieu argued that it was necessary to go beyond examining interactions and events and examine the social space in which they were situated. Bourdieu describes various domains or social spaces: 'fields' of practice such as education, religion, law, sociology, art, work. Each of these is accompanied by its own set of rules and knowledge. These fields are also constituted by combinations of capital; for example, economic, symbolic capital, cultural capital, or social capital and as a result may have their own hierarchical structures. Field is the conceptualized space in which entities interact with each other in regular, predictable ways. A field is a setting in which agents and their social positions are located. The position of each agent is a result of interaction between an agent's habitus, capital and the rules of the field.

Individuals are likely to gravitate towards the social fields (and positions inside those fields) that present a good match for their habitus and self-select out of those fields which may present a conflict with their habitus. In the case of children, those from middle class backgrounds are more likely to go to university, which is consistent with the upbringing and

parental expectations, and those from working class backgrounds are less likely to go to university, consistent with their upbringing also. Within the field, habitus constrains by providing a sense of 'knowing your place' thereby maintaining an accepted social order. As Respondent 27, a Gay Man says: *"All the directors on our board are white. All our porters and domestics are, without exception, black"*. This may be a very stark but useful example of how different groups access the field and where they are located when they occupy the same social space or field. In this case, the field is a mental health hospital but might be more reflective of the healthcare profession more generally.

Habitus informs what an agent might do within a field whilst a field structures action from without. The field offers the individual a range of possibilities depending on their capital, and positions them towards particular ways of thinking and behaving. Those who are fortunate to occupy dominant positions are likely to pursue conservation of the field and distribution of capital whilst those who do not might be more likely to challenge the status quo. Along with Habitus and Capital (below) Field is a valuable conceptual and theoretical tool in understanding organisational life and addressing problems practically; Bourdieu argued for the empirical grounding of theory: "The data available are attached to individuals or institutions. Thus, to grasp the subfield of economic power in France, and the social and economic conditions of its reproduction, you have no choice but to interview the top two hundred French CEOs" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1989:232).

Capital

In Marxist theory, it is the accumulation of material resources, in particular economic capital, from which power and dominance are derived. Bourdieu extends this idea arguing that social and cultural resources also create power that leads to the domination of groups. According to Bourdieu capital determines the specific position an individual occupies in a given field. For example, those who have the capital that provides them with access to higher education may occupy better paying professions and are recognised has having a higher social status. Social recognition is important; it legitimises that capital. He attempts to

broaden our understanding of power and inequality by introducing the concepts of social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital: *Social capital* which can be defined as a social network of resources such circles of friends, groups, memberships and networks; *Cultural capital* which is an individual's knowledge and competencies that are built up by an individual including preferences and taste (such as how they might define what is fine art and what is not); *Economic capital* is the accumulated economic assets that an individual (or their family) holds (property owned, earning ability); *Symbolic capital* is the general framework which covers the other forms of capital and represents the prestige and recognition relative to the individual.

Cultural capital is influenced by socio-demographics and income (Tatli et al 2015). It can be seen in three states: *Embodied*: How it appears in physical/bodily appearance knowledge and capability; *Objectified*: In the form of cultural goods such as art, books, instruments etc.; *Institutionalised*: recognition from institutions including, for example a university degree confers a type of capital.

However, it is symbolic capital that provides for power and domination even if the agents involved do not regard it as such. Symbolic capital, for example through class and social inequality, is reproduced at the cultural and social level. For Bourdieu, cultural and economic capital are closely linked. If we look again the example of working class children taking working-class jobs and middle-class children going on to university: middle-class children are likely to have middle-class parents who possess a degree and have the means to send their children to university. Here both economic and cultural capital have been accumulated in such a way to enable some children to enter into the field of higher education. Children without the necessary financial means and with no familiarity with academia through family members may find the experience more challenging. Even those working-class children who enter education (at whatever level) may not use the same language as their teachers or have the same social and cultural references. Bourdieu specifically addressed education in relation to cultural capital. Cultural capital varies with social class but the education system assumes that students possess a degree of cultural

capital and academic credentials: "... it [education] is in fact one of the most effective means of perpetuating the existing social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition to the cultural heritage, that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one." (Bourdieu 1974:32). In the UK, for example, the absence of a degree might be a signifier of a working-class background. Bourdieu argues that working class children may even leave education due to their perceived lack of cultural capital "... the negative predispositions towards the school which result in the self-elimination of most children from the most culturally unfavoured classes and sections of a class ...must be understood as an anticipation, based upon the unconscious estimation of the objective probabilities of success possessed by the whole category, of the sanctions objectively reserved by the school for those classes or sections of a class deprived of cultural capital." (Bourdieu, 1977a:495). It might be argued that the same self-elimination occurs in adults of minority groups based on their unconscious estimation of how they might be treated in certain roles or levels within an organisation.

For Bourdieu, social inequality and the reasons why individuals did not resist power and domination could be found in culture and ideology rather than just or primarily economic class. Power and dominance are derived from cultural and social resources, perhaps more so than material and economic resources. This is important in understanding power in organisations and will be explored in this research. The relationship between Habitus, Field and Capital can be explained thus: “Habitus only operates in relation with the state of the field and on the basis of the possibilities of action granted by the capital associated with the position” (Nicolini 2012:60).

Practice

“We need to learn how to translate abstract problems into thoroughly practical, scientific operations” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:221).

Practice theory seeks to explain the dialectic between social behaviour and social structure. As Nicolini (2012:35) explains: “One’s everyday world is meaningfully structured by these

practices which can remain untaught and yet which we more or less share in common. Practice therefore implies an individual's social and historical relation to the world, where one's own concrete practices are themselves set up and made meaningful within this wider background system of intelligibility". For Bourdieu, it is the combination of Habitus, Capital and Field that creates 'Practice':

[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice

Our practice, what we do and say, is a result of our dispositions (habitus) and our location in a field (our capital) within the social space (field). Bourdieu's practice theory helps us to understand the construction of meaning in social practices; the way in which we read, understand, interpret and live our lives.

For Bourdieu, the social world is already structured and he describes how people draw upon their 'doxa', the taken for granted world beyond reflexion, when operating in their fields (Bourdieu 1971). This may explain why, despite decades of diversity efforts, progress for minorities is slow. Efforts tend to focus on the conscious and the material; discrimination, processes, training, law. Yet power is embedded in the practices of everyday life and to understand practices we need to examine the fields in which actors are situated, where they are located in those fields and the habitus that they bring with them into their fields of practice. Practice theory seeks to explain how the systems in which we operate came to be and what sustains them providing a valuable lens through which to understand the organisational structures and practices that contribute to the experiences and challenges of minority leaders. If this research is to contribute to my practice and to knowledge then to find a new way to examine the fields in which I work is an imperative: "The task is to produce, if not a 'new person', then at least a 'new gaze', a sociological eye. And this cannot be done without a genuine conversion, a metanoia, a mental revolution, a transformation of one's whole vision of the social world" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:251). Habitus (and practice theory more generally) can become a lens through which to look at marginalisation, habitual behaviour and potential for change. As a result of Habitus "the

possibilities of agency and (re)negotiation of power relations are ever present" (Allard 2005:66).

In summary, literature about diversity in leadership remains limited as does progress on diversity and inclusion. It has been important to find a theoretical framework from which I can interpret the results and organise the findings. Practice theory provides researchers with a new epistemological model offering a whole system approach and a way into understanding social power, dominance and legitimising myths. The literature was one of the influences on my research design. I consider the research approaches and how I arrived at it in the next section. I explain later on about my return to this literature and exploration of additional literature as the research progressed and more issues and perspectives emerged.

Rationale for the research design

Introduction

This section describes the focus of the project, the research methodology and specific methods used in this study and what influenced my choice. This section also explains how the research project was designed in order to gain insights into experience. Reasons and justifications for the research design and data collection techniques are given.

Background Ontological and Epistemological Position

Early in my career in leadership development, we were taught models which we then taught others. As I matured in my profession I studied different approaches and models, often consisting of competing claims, as the ones I was taught were not always congruent with my experiences. As I moved between industries I noted the role that context plays in leadership and organisational development. My work with leaders is generally experiential rather than didactic and at the heart of my interest in organisations are the interactions between people and the meanings they create from those interactions in the course of their work. As such my approach to organisational research has been to adopt a more flexible and personal approach in order to understand and interpret meaning in human behaviour.

I was told a story during my Certificate in Dynamic at Board Level programme, apparently from Native American mythology. In the story, 'Truth' was a mirror that fell to earth and shattered. Everyone picked up a piece and could see their truth in it. This caused conflict as every person's truth was different. Finally, they realised that they had to put all their pieces together to see the whole truth.

This story represents my ontological and epistemological position. From an ontological perspective, I am interested in how people in organisations construct and interpret their realities and how they make meaning from them. Gender, Ethnicity and Sexuality are ways in which people define themselves and are defined by others. My ontological assumptions

take account of the multiple realities including those associated with gender, ethnicity and sexuality as well as leadership.

This project aimed to understand and interpret the experiences of multiple groups and accepts the 'the significance of multiple perspectives and different social constructions of reality' (Watson and Crossley 2001). This interpretivist approach facilitates the knowledge which arises collaboratively with others. While I may have 'content' (i.e. some knowledge of the field) what comes from the research is emergent, socially constructed, and sensitive to context. As such my epistemological position is constructivist. These were important inputs into my research design. In bringing together multiple realities with the knowledge gained from multiple meanings, I hope to piece together 'Truth'.

Inputs to the Research Design

The intention for the research design was to provide a plan or structure for the enquiry and a process for conducting and boundarying the project. A number of inputs were considered including context, ethics, insights from the literature, and my own professional experience. Sekaran and Bougie (2013) posit that six main types of decision in research design and these have been useful in shaping my thinking about the method and design. They are:

1. the aims and objectives of the study
2. the type of investigation
3. the unit of analysis
4. the extent of researcher interference
5. the time horizon
6. the study setting

It was a useful find in thinking about how I could determine parameters for the project. Bryman's typology (1988) was also useful in providing guidance to the purpose of the study (exploratory, descriptive, deductive) and the type of investigation. For example:

1. Experimental design
2. Cross-sectional or social survey design
3. Longitudinal design
4. Case study design
5. Comparative design

Research setting has been an important consideration; it provides the context for the research. For the purpose of this project I was interested in workplace experiences. I have worked in investment banking which is a limited source of Women, BME, and LGB leaders. My current role is in the technology sector, an industry that has a similar lack of diversity in leadership positions so it was necessary to source participants from across organisations and industries in order to ensure sufficient participation.

I have long been interested understanding why there is a lack of gender, racial and sexual diversity at leadership levels (and the frustratingly slow progress) and wanted to explore the challenges, the interventions that might be helpful and more broadly what is happening systemically that hinders progression. Specifically, I wanted to understand:

1. What are the specific challenges of identified Women, LGB and BME leaders?
2. What are the learning events and experiences that participating minority leaders see as critical in enabling them to succeed in leadership roles?
3. What are the interventions in terms of leadership development that might be valuable if made available to Women, LGB or BME leaders?
4. What are the organisational impediments to success for minority leaders?

Clearly there are a number of phenomena being examined: Leadership, Leadership Development, Diversity, Gender, Sexuality, Race and Ethnicity, Career Development, Organisational Behaviour and Barriers. These are all quite complex concepts and in arriving at a research method, I considered a number of constructs that might be explored and the research perspective which might best serve the project. For example:

Behaviour – what people/groups/organisations actually do (a realist perspective)

Cognitions – what people think or feel about something (an interpretive perspective)

Language – what people/groups/organisations say (a post-modern perspective)

I reflected on my interest in the subject area and what would interest others. I considered how findings from the project could bring real value to my work and organisation. In defining the type of research approach, I considered:

The *nature* of it – what do people do/think/say about their workplace experiences? (Exploratory research)

Its *relationship* with something else – does 'a' predict or cause a change in 'b'? (Deductive research)

The *amount* of it – how often have they experienced obstacles or how common is this phenomenon? (Descriptive research)

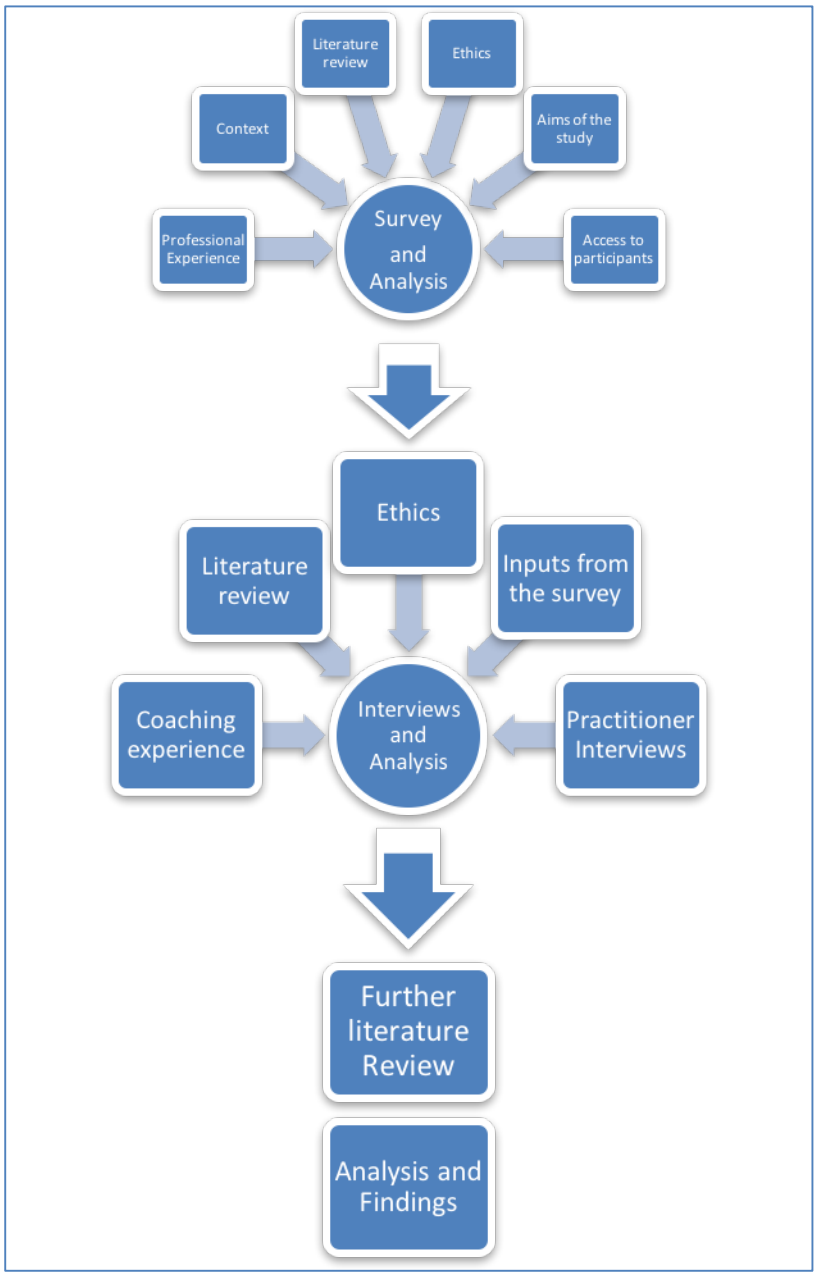
I was interested in understanding the feelings, values and perceptions of minority leaders, their experiences and how they make sense of those experiences. As part of the project I wanted to be able to identify the critical development experiences which have supported Women, LGB and BMEs in becoming leaders. I also wanted to explore their perceptions of organisational barriers and the challenges that might be faced. I wanted to collect and hear their stories. This approach then gives weight to participants' subjective interpretation and this exploration of their construct of reality places the research within a qualitative and interpretive paradigm. This emphasis on "subjectivity and the authenticity of human experience is a strong feature of qualitative research" (Silverman 2013:6). Part of the intended impact of the research was to give voice to minority leaders and so I wanted to choose a design that would elicit narratives: "Scholars have used narratives to analyze participants' views about social issues as diverse as illness and health, social exploitation and

isolation, the subordination of women to men, migration. Uniting this wide array of fields and interests is a faith in the power of storytelling as a tool for eliciting people's local knowledge and understandings of social phenomena" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012:18). This was practitioner research as I was undertaking the research in my own field. Practitioner research implies that practitioners will learn from their research into their own practice – this may not be the case in other forms of research. It also aims at improving practice rather than proving it (Furlong and Oancea 2005). Since my aim was to improve both my own practice, and to contribute to a body of knowledge practitioner research was appropriate for this project. I intended to engage with both 'theoretical' and 'practical' knowledge.

Research Design

The final design was a multi-stage qualitative study. It drew upon multiple inputs including, literature, my experience, the experience of practitioners, and the experiences of members of the groups.

Figure 4.0: Inputs into Research Design



Process and details

The research was conducted in a number of stages:

Stage One - Review of Existing Literature

Stage Two - Survey

Stage Three - Interviews

Stage Four - Interviews and discussion with Practitioners

Stage Five - Further Literature Review

Stage Six - Analysis and findings

Data Collection

Survey

I started the research using an online questionnaire for the first stage of the research as a survey enabled me to:

1. 'landscape' to check the lie of the land. By distributing the questionnaire widely, I could check whether minority leaders were experiencing the challenges described in existing literature and observed through my own work.
2. check my own insularity and positioning - was I barking up the wrong tree? Were my own views of the experiences and the challenges of minority leaders supported empirically?
3. be confident in its possibilities based on my previous experience of using a survey for my Masters; the method had been invaluable in providing a large number of responses.
4. distribute it via social media to access participants that I might not otherwise.

The survey was constructed using questions that could elicit demographic data in order to check that participants were from the target groups and if there were differences between the

target groups in terms of experiences. This was followed by a series of questions designed to draw out participant's experiences of their challenges (if any) in progressing to and being successful in leadership positions, their experiences of leadership development and the experiences that were most critical in developing them as leaders. They were informed by my own professional experience with many encounters with individuals whom I was tasked with developing and from the gaps in the literature.

1. Demographic questions to determine demographic information such as gender and age and sexuality
2. Closed questions to narrow responses and provide statistical data- for example "Did you encounter any opposition?"
3. Open questions in order to elicit the experiences and narratives from the participants. Given that part of the purpose of the survey was to provide a voice for participants and enable them to describe their experience in their own words this was important
4. The use of 'How' rather than 'Why' in the question "How were you selected for your first leadership position?" was a deliberate choice. I was interested in the process by which respondents made that first step; 'How' can reveal a process whereas 'Why' would focus on criteria.
5. Multiple choice questions were used as a prompt in identifying obstacles and drew upon existing knowledge and research about obstacles minorities face in the workplace.
6. Inviting anyone to indicate if they would be interested in being interviewed

The survey went through several iterations and was piloted prior to distribution. This refined mostly how the questions were stated rather than the question itself and the relevance.
The survey was conducted on-line using Survey Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com) – a widely used web-based survey solution. To ensure informed consent the online survey was prefaced with a statement (Appendix B) explaining:

1. the purpose of the research
2. how the data collected will be used
3. the voluntary nature of participation
4. how confidentiality will be maintained
5. contact details if they have questions
6. the right to a summary of findings if they so wish
7. a 'check-box' sign off to confirm they understand the conditions in which they are participating before they can continue.
8. what support services were available if the survey raised issues for participants was included.

As data collection from within a single organisation was unlikely to yield sufficient responses for this project I sought participants both within and outside my organisation. I deployed the survey through my own professional and social network as well as internet-based social networking sites, including: Facebook (http://www.facebook.com); Outeverywhere (http://www.outeverywhere.com); Twitter (http://www.twitter.com) and LinkedIn (http://www.linkedin.com). This approach had the potential to reach a large audience of potential participants and worked well in my Masters research; put simply anyone who fitted the target demographic and was interested and motivated to respond to the survey, could do so.

A professional network enables people who share a similar profession to meet, network, exchange ideas and give and receive professional advice. Professional networks generally utilise face-to-face meetings but increasingly use websites and social media. I asked members of my own professional networks to distribute a link to the web-based survey. In order to do this, they were provided with a description of the purpose of the research along with the link to the survey. A social network builds relations among people who might share common interests, activities, backgrounds, or personal or business connections and I was able to web-based social networking sites. In the context of research, they offer speed, low costs, and round-the-clock access to my survey link. Social networking tools and

websites are increasingly used in research (Reips and Musch 2002) and their strength lies in the number of connections in one's direct network as well as the depth and breadth of one's connections' network.

The social networks I used were web-based taking advantage of the ability of the Internet to provide access to specific communities. Virtual communities offer researchers a mechanism through which they can gain access to people who share "specific interests, attitudes, beliefs, and values regarding an issue, problem, or activity" (Wright 2005:3). It would be difficult to find a large, concentrated group of LGB leaders simply by asking around one or more organisations for example. Additionally, the response speed of surveys distributed via the Internet suggests that the use of the Internet results in significantly faster responses to researchers when compared to other survey distribution methods such as mail (Truell et al. (2002) and may well replace traditional methods of survey data collection (Couper 2000).

Once a survey is distributed via social networks and enters cyberspace, the researcher loses control of where the survey goes. This was considered in terms of ensuring clarity in the description of the survey's purpose and its intended target group and also ensuring that the survey closed at a given time. An advantage was that the survey could be distributed far more widely that I could achieve alone. Sample selection is an important consideration; the use of closed populations may provide the best opportunities for generalization but the distribution of an on-line survey via social networking sites may mean that respondents outside the target groups complete it. As stated earlier, demographic data was captured and as part of the review of data, non-target respondent were removed. There was of course the risk that some recipients of the survey disagreed with its aims and would respond negatively or indeed with hostility but risk is also an opportunity and negative responses are also data. I assumed this was a process of self-selection and in itself demonstrating that people were responding to support research in this area were motivated by the need for it. The use of social networking coupled with a web-based survey offered the best chance of receiving a significant number of responses to support the aims of this research.

Due to the fact that some Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees are not out at work (in other words, they have not made their employers or co-workers aware that they are lesbian, gay or bisexual), random sampling with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual people specifically can be especially difficult. As such data gathering by a confidential online survey which participants were able to complete anonymously is helpful in gathering data from LGB participants. Participants were asked if they were happy to be contacted if more detail was needed and if they were willing to participate in a follow up interview. In addition to the social networks already listed, the survey was distributed to business and campaigning groups as well as diversity heads, organisational Development practitioners and Human Resources professionals in my own network. The use of an online survey that participants can complete anonymously if they wished provided confidentially for the employees and ensured that the employer was not identified. Participants were provided with contact details for any questions they may have and offered a summary of the final results once published.

Interviews

The survey generated 96 responses (many more than I was expecting) despite the length of the questionnaire and the requirement to write about their experiences. In itself the questionnaire gave voice to participants and the responses provided rich content and again I was touched by the generosity of people to share their stories.

The survey was followed up with interviews with participants who had agreed to be interviewed. Requests for interview explained why participants were selected, what the purpose of the interview was, and their rights as a participant. These are outlined under ethical considerations. I also interviewed participants who were not part of the original survey participants. For example, one participant recommended I speak to a senior woman she knew and offered to connect me. A central methodological issue was how reliable or valid the interviews might be and how representative the sample could be. In selecting

participants for interviews, I tried to ensure representation across gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation.

What I was striving for in the interviews was 'authenticity' since this is qualitative research and I wanted to hear participants' stories, as well as understand their definitions of (for example) leadership. The purpose of the interviews was to follow up on any responses to the survey that may need clarification or where an interview may provide richer data. While surveys can provide valuable and potentially quantifiable data, interviews helped me to understand if the personal background or unique experiences of the participants played a fundamental role in their transition to leadership roles. I was interested in the richness that comes from people's own descriptions of their experiences, and their sense-making of their situation. Interviews provided opportunity to explore their experiences in depth.

The qualitative research interview is valuable in social science research particularly because is sensitive to how people construct their experience using language: "The qualitative research interview is seen as an interpretive process, as a constructive process and a process focused on formulating possibilities for change" (Neilson 2007:213). The term 'interview' has many interpretations which might range from something highly structured with a set of questions to something that might be close to how people naturally engage and talk in conversation. Potter (2002) and Silverman (2013a) suggest that a research project can begin by looking at naturally occurring data; that the "default data source for qualitative researchers should be those contexts which societal members ordinarily assemble for themselves" (Silverman 2013a:54). Potter (2002:539) considers this distinction between data that is obtained in structured versus 'natural' setting as important: "I see it as highlighting the researcher's central place in the production of conventional research data, and highlighting the virtue of material where the researcher's active role is minimized". As I wanted to give voice to participants accounts I needed minimize my 'active role' so that I did not "flood the research setting with the researcher's own categories (embedded in questions, probes, stimuli, vignettes and so on)" (Potter 2002:540). I still however, needed to arrange to speak with participants at a given time with a given purpose. Participants were also aware that I was

undertaking research, had signed a consent form (Appendix C) and were being recorded all of which might influence what they said. Potter suggests that rather than trying to overcome the inherent contradictions of studying participants' 'natural talk' in a research setting is by describing the data obtained as 'naturalistic' rather than 'natural' data. This recognises that in a research setting there is a limit to the notion of 'natural data' without discounting the value that taking a more naturalist approach might offer.

This meant aiming for an interview approach that, as far as possible, enabled participants to speak freely and 'naturally' offering the potential for issues, concerns and insights beyond prior expectations that are inevitably embedded in highly structured interviews. I drew upon my coaching training in my process. After explaining the purpose of my research, I would ask the participants to tell me about their leadership journey and let the conversation go where the participants took it, and using open questions when appropriate. In coaching we sometimes call this 'dancing in the moment'. As with coaching, intensive listening was required and it was important to build rapport, create a safe space for conversation, maintain a non-judgemental stance, and to listen not just to the content of their stories but for the uncovering of their frames of reference, their assumptions, beliefs and values. In the context of interviewing as part of qualitative research it is important to maintain "a respect for and curiosity about what people say, and a systematic effort to really hear and understand what people tell you" (Rubin and Rubin 1995:17).

Atkinson and Silverman (1997) suggest that, in the context of research, interviews are crucial to how people understand themselves. By using a loosely or 'unstructured' interview, that is open-ended questions that could be asked in any order, I was able to treat the interviews as a process of discovery. Some of the questions were the same as those from the survey, some as a result of the findings of the survey and others came through the conversations. After each interview, the recordings were reviewed and questions revised in advance of the next interview. Throughout the research, I tried to make the purpose and process of the research as transparent as possible, but also to be as reflexive as possible. Whilst qualitative interviewing is subjective, the subjective experience of the participants was the focus and

vehicle for this research and the disclosure or type of disclosure is possibly dependent on the interviewer and their approach and attributes. So the data itself emerges from an intersubjectivity; the dynamic between the interviewer and the participant. My interview approach might be described as something like a 'conversational interview'; in some ways they resembled two people simply talking about something they had a shared interested in: diversity in leadership. There are advantages to using this 'conversational interview' approach:

1. The approach was flexible and I was able to adapt or change questions depending on the respondents' answers. I was able to deviate from the interview schedule according to the respondents' own experiences and narratives. For example, if they referenced 'role models' I could explore what was important about role models to them.

2. The conversational interview approach generated a large amount of qualitative data through the use of open questions. It enabled the respondents to talk in some depth, at their own pace and in their own words. As a researcher, this was valuable in helping me to develop a real understanding of their experiences.

3. The conversational interview has increased validity as I was able to probe for a deeper understanding, seek clarification or explanation and allow the respondent to steer the direction of the interview.

As one of the aims of the research was to provide a voice for minority leaders, the conversational interviews enabled participants to describe their own experiences in their own words but also provided space for them to reflect on the causes of any challenges that might face. The conversational interviews were loosely structured as I wanted to be able to go with their stories as well as elicit the data, narratives and insights that were relevant to the

research. My coaching training was also valuable in helping me to tap into my "third person observer" and take a look over my own shoulder. In other words, to be able to move fluidly between my awareness of myself, the interview participant, and still notice what is going on between both of us. Minorities' day-to-day experiences might provide an immediate awareness of their disadvantage but may not "perceive immediately the underlying causes of this suffering nor even necessarily perceive it as oppression" (Jaggar 2004:61). It was obvious during all of the interviews that there were moments of 'realisation', something that arguably may not have occurred by relying solely on other methods such as questionnaires or even highly structured interviews.

Interviews were recorded and transcribed. A consent form was used – Appendix C.

Practitioners

I was also interested in the views and experiences of leadership development practitioners who work with minority and non-minority leaders and I contacted practitioners for interviews as part of this research. I believe the research benefits from another perspective and that this approach provides opportunity for triangulation by cross-validating the data from another source. By including the perspectives of practitioners who work with both minority and non-minority leaders, I may overcome intrinsic biases associated with single-standpoint research. I wanted to speak with executive coaches and leadership development professionals and ultimately interviewed two executive coaches who work extensively in both leadership and organisational development globally.

Analysis

Template Analysis (King, 2004) was used to analyse the data. Sample data is included at Appendix F. Participants' responses were 'coded'; that is conceptual themes were identified as the data was collected and if necessary grouped into a set of broad 'key' themes. A priori higher codes were identified in the initial procedure with lower level codes identified as the

analysis progressed. The analysis of the data was descriptive, correlative, and interpretative. Description is needed in order to clearly state which are the fundamental concepts that were considered in the final project report. Correlational analysis was used to make relevant connections between demographic data and responses. Interpretation was based on all the data points available; my own observations and experience were also used as data points.

Ethical Considerations

Academic research involving human participants can raise challenging social, legal and ethical issues, and the primary concern must be the safety and protection of the participants involved in academic research (Williams-Jones and Holm 2005).

For me an important aspect of my ethical practice was to stay in touch with why I was doing this study; to be 'on purpose'. Reflecting regularly on the project, taking notes as something occurred to me no matter where I was and talking through the project with my advisor and consultant and others were also important to me. Particularly important to me was to allow the participants' voices to be heard, to keep their words and intention intact. To that end, I have tried to make sure I have used participants' words much as possible in writing up the project. They express their experiences and what those experiences mean for them far better than I would be able to.

Informed Consent is fundamental to any research programme and all those who agree to be part of this project must be able to do so in an informed way. For the purposes of this project, the principles of informed consent were taken to mean that participants have been provided with a comprehensible explanation of the project and the research being undertaken along with any other relevant information; that their participation is voluntary and not a result of any real or perceived pressure; and that they are fully competent to give their consent. Informed consent was also a continuous requirement throughout the project.

A number of ethical concerns were considered in preparing for the project:

1. How would I ensure quality and integrity of my research?
2. How would I seek informed consent?
3. How would I respect the confidentiality and anonymity of my research participants?
4. How would I ensure that my participants will participate in the research voluntarily?
5. How would I avoid harm to participants?
6. How can I show that my research is independent and impartial?

It was important to consider the range of influences that might impact the research, to think broadly, to check my assumptions with others and to discuss them with my advisor and other practitioners:

1. To what extent will my level of self-awareness affect reliability?
2. How much capacity do I have to challenge my own assumption and what will this mean for reliability and criticality?
3. How can I ensure transparency by positioning myself correctly as a researcher?
4. Can I conceptualise my practice and domain appropriately through sufficient reflexivity?
5. Can I engage practically and critically with existing theory and knowledge?
6. How can I pilot the use of data collection methods to ensure validity?
7. What is the feasibility of finding suitable participants?
8. What is the likelihood of having an impact?

I am aware that as researchers we may not be sufficiently reflexive about such issues and that in dealing with issues such as discrimination (or unfair treatment more generally) there may be a tendency to want to ‘come to the rescue’ of participants instead of stepping back in order to understand their experiences from their perspective and to keep an eye on broader systemic concerns and the nature of the domain. Further, there may be a risk of revealing information about the participants or their organisations that is sensitive - or indeed discarding findings for the same reason. In particular, there is a complexity in relation to disclosure of sexual identity in the workplace and participants contributing to research about sexual identity may be placing themselves in a situation where they are revealing information which could be

stigmatizing (Collins and Miller 1994). Ethical sensitivity is required and as such, the research was conducted in conditions which are anonymous and confidential.

Of course, random sampling of LGB people can be difficult due to the fact that some Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees are not out at work; members of LGBT professional networks are not representative of the wider Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual population and will not include employees from environments that are might be particularly challenging for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees (manual or military environments for example). As a researcher who works in a white-collar environment and whose social and professional network is largely white collar, I have little access to employees (LGB or otherwise) from non-professional environments. As such, the degree to which results can be generalised across all working environments is limited.

To ensure informed consent the online survey was prefaced with a statement explaining:

1. The purpose of the research
2. How the data collected will be used
3. The voluntary nature of participation
4. How confidentiality will be maintained
5. Contact details if they have questions
6. The right to a summary of findings if they so wish
7. A‘check-box’ sign off to confirm they understand the conditions in which they are participating before they can continue

Participants of interviews were also given information relevant to their participation including:

1. The purpose of the survey interview
2. How and why they have been selected
3. Recording of the interview and what will happen to those recordings
4. Confidentiality

5. The right to refuse to answer any questions and to withdraw
6. The right to a copy of the transcript
7. My name and how I may be contacted
8. How the information will be used
9. How confidentiality and anonymity will be protected
10. What will happen to the data on completion of the project

The participation of practitioners, for example executive coaches, raises questions about the confidentially of their clients and so I agreed that any data that identifies their clients would not be used in the project. As part of discussion about consent with practitioners I sought agreement that names of clients and client organisations will not be used. Participants were given a copy of the transcript and given the opportunity to make any corrections.

A copy of the interview consent form is attached at Appendix C.

Results

The methodology addressed the research questions by empirically examining the experiences of minority leaders at work. An online survey was created using Survey Monkey to survey minority leaders and this was distributed through business networking site LinkedIn, social networking sites Facebook, Twitter and Outeverywhere. Links to the survey were distributed to HR and diversity heads in my own network. As part of the survey participants were asked questions about their experience of leadership as well as their thoughts and experience of leadership development. A copy of the questionnaire is attached at Appendix B.

Data was captured in conditions which were anonymous and confidential ensuring that both employees and their employers could not be identified. The option for anonymous and

confidential completion protected the identities of the respondents and eliminated any researcher effects. Quality control can be difficult with anonymous surveys; however, given the nature of the subject matter, this was a pragmatic choice. The use of a survey link enabled ‘snowballing’; that is respondents were able to forward the survey to their own network.

Ninety-five people participated in the survey. Fifty-seven were women and thirty-eight were men. Of the women, eight defined themselves as lesbian, forty-two as heterosexual, and three as bisexual. Of the men, seven identified as heterosexual, twenty-nine as gay and one as bisexual. Two participants preferred not to say and four identified as ‘other’ describing their sexual identity as ‘undecided’, ‘inter sexual’, ‘pan-sexual’ and ‘asexual’. Of those that selected an age category (n=94):

Figure 5.0 – Age Distribution of Survey Respondents

Age Range	Percentage Raw Number
18-24	2.13% 2
25-34	17.02% 16
35-44	29.79% 28
45-54	30.85% 29
55-64	15.96% 15
64 and over	4.26% 4

Survey: Data Analysis Outcome

Manager Versus Leader

39 per cent of those that responded stated that their organisations distinguished between 'Manager and Leader'. The majority (61 per cent) stated that their organisations did not make a distinction. Of those participants whose organisations made a distinction, some had formal structural distinctions, for example by level: *"Top three levels (include CEO) are described as leaders and will belong to one of three groups. Everyone in these groups will have PRP benefits and different T&Cs"*. For others, the term 'Manager' was specific to having direct reports or a product/functional line: *"Everyone is a leader but managers have direct reports. Or management of a product"*, *"Leading often means of a specific technical area which may not include management responsibilities for staff. Manager is more general and applies where individual does have line management responsibilities"*. Other participants made less formal distinctions: *"Manager is a functional title, implying line management responsibility. Leader is a more general title, which anyone can be through role modelling certain values"*. One interesting response was that *"Manager is in your job description. Leader is more of an adjective"*. These less formal definitions suggest management as a function of the role but leadership as the qualities needed to *"direct, motivate and inspire others who work for them"*. Participants were also asked if they considered themselves a 'Manager', a 'Leader', or 'Both'. However, in designing this question in the survey tool, I neglected to make this a single answer only question so I have disregarded the results.

Getting into Leadership Positions

Most of the participants who provide a response cited formal promotion processes as the mechanism by which they were promoted. Typically, this was an application or nomination process followed by an interview that was sometimes supplemented by presentations and other tests. Interestingly some participants stated that by actually undertaking leadership roles prior to formal promotion had helped them to move formally into that role. For example, Respondent 40 who is a Lesbian says: *"Taking initiative and essentially performing*

the role before it was officially given to me". Respondent 31, who is a Heterosexual Woman says, *"Formal interviews for an opportunity actually created by me"* and *"I took the initiative to take charge when no one else was".* Respondent 55, a Heterosexual Woman, worked for an audit firm where careers were more formally managed: *"I worked for a large audit firm. There was a clear progression in terms of moving up levels as you progressed through exams combined with selection by the manager of a specific audit that you were the appropriate person in terms of experience and capability".*

Facing Opposition

Approximately half the participants had faced opposition (46 per cent stated that they had faced opposition versus 54 per cent who had not). For some, the opposition was clear and obvious. Respondent 14, a British Indian Heterosexual Man says *"White colleagues tried to remove me as a leader. Two told to my face that they did not want an Indian to be a leader. But also met some wonderful true leaders who saw my true ability and appointed me and now been MD of two acute trusts".* Respondent 29, a British Gay Man says *"I was leading on introducing work to challenge homophobia, two religious members of staff voiced opposition to the work and verbally attacked me". "My boss made it clear that he was uncomfortable with the fact that I was a lesbian and out of the people he liked to promote to positions of power within the workforce"* – Respondent 40, American Lesbian.

For others, the opposition is less obvious. For example Respondent 10 as Lesbian, says *"Outright discrimination hasn't been a problem, but being a member of a minority group immediately identifies you as 'an other' so you don't automatically get invited to the most useful social events"* and *"It was always subtle and (I) wonder if a white person gets the same. My own manager and colleague would and do say 'You have done really well given your circumstances and you should be really pleased to be where you are', I have never been encouraged to apply for senior roles or personally sponsored to do so"* – Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Indian Woman.

Opposition was also described in way which suggested that it was systemic; discrimination was a regular feature of interactions and processes over time. Respondent 23, a

Heterosexual Indian Female says *"This has been ongoing and it appears that there is a need to prove ourself on the basis of our colour on an on-going basis"*, and *"Opposition has come from people who thought that leadership was not my role and I should know my place"* – Respondent 17, a White Scottish Gay Man.. For at least one participant, Respondent 76, a Heterosexual Woman, the only option was to move on: *"I had to change organisations - I worked in banking where there is a definite glass ceiling - I was asked about my childcare responsibilities"*.

Thematic Analysis of the Survey Data

In order to focus on developing minority leaders Template Analysis (King 2004) was used to analyse data specifically related to development and career progression. Conceptual themes were identified as the data was collected and grouped into coherent 'key' themes which summarized and brought meaning to the responses. These themes were then 'coded'. A priori higher codes were identified first and then lower level codes identified as the analysis progressed through several iterations. It was not possible to identify statistical significance; instead I have reported based on 'most common' themes. Further a theme (such as mentoring) may have appeared in response to more than one question.

The final template is shown below:

Figure 6.0 Thematic Analysis of Survey Data

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Mentoring	Development	Training for Managers	Selection	Leadership Model	Confidence	Networking	Role models
	1.1 Having a (female/BME/LGB Mentor)	2.1 Formal Leadership Training	3.1 Training existing leaders the value of diversity	4.1 Embed Values into recruitment	5.1 Transparent paths to leadership	6.1 Be Yourself	7.1 Build a network	8.1 Minority leader role models.
	1.2 External Mentoring	2.2 Leaderhip training to have a norm critical view	3.2 Train managers in understanding how to make BME, LGBT and Women more comfortable	4.2 Create diverse selection panels	5.2 Clear definition of leadership expectations/leadership model	6.2 Be who you are	7.2 Sponsorship	
	1.3 Peer mentoring	2.21 Training to smash myths – women don't have to be perfect from day one	3.3 Train managers to provide support, encouragement and feedback		5.3 Value different/diverse leadership – styles and diverse leaders			
		2.22 Training to address navigating organisational politics	3.31 Train managers to recognise early successes					
		2.23 Training in emotional self-control/EI						
		2.3 Secondments/ trying out						
		2.4 Coaching from someone with a profound understanding of leadership						
		2.41 Advice upfront and during transition						

Eight main themes were identified:

1. Mentoring
2. Development
3. Training for Managers
4. Selection
5. Leadership Model
6. Confidence
7. Networking
8. Role Models

In reviewing the thematic analysis, it confirms my professional practice in so far when diversity work is undertaken (whether for leaders or employees generally), it does broadly

follow these interventions. This perhaps is there is a divergence with some of the literature which might suggest that these interventions address symptoms of power in equalities at work rather than causes.

1.0 **Mentoring**

Mentoring was cited by many respondents (51 times) as helpful in their development. For example, Respondent 31 a Heterosexual Woman states *"I had a supporter/mentor that was in the top chief executive role and this made the transition much, much easier."*.

1.1 **Having a Female/BME/LGB mentor**

Some respondents, specifically women, highlighted the importance of having a mentor from their own group. Respondent 19, a Heterosexual Woman says *"What would have been helpful is more support and training in how to deal with leadership/manager questions. Specifically, from a diversity point of view. I have later in my career had a mentor but even then I felt I missed the gender input. But he helped me with the navigating of the business"*; *"Women need to have mentors, and supporters who will provide feedback and give the chances to fail while providing some safety nets". "Having a strong female mentor, or an organisation that was aware of gender issues"* – Respondent 78, a Heterosexual Woman.

1.2 External mentoring

External mentoring was seen as offering an objectivity that the line manager could not. Respondent 48, a Heterosexual Woman says *"Having an external mentor as a sounding board, your manager tends to sometimes have a biased view based on their position and having a neutral sounding board would have given more perspective"*.

1.3 Peer mentoring

Peer mentoring was also raised as a valuable source of support. Peer mentoring seems to serve a different purpose in so far as it provides opportunity to test ideas, and share experiences safely. As Respondent 57, a Heterosexual Woman, says *"shadowing to understand nature of role"* and *"share good practice"*.

2.0 Development

2.1 Formal leadership training

68% of respondents had received formal leadership development and as part of the survey were asked what had been most helpful. Formal leadership development seems to provide the opportunity for minority leaders to find tangible solutions to problems and to find tools that help one become more self-aware. Training programmes enable leaders to discuss issues with other leaders, provide alternative perspectives and a 'space to reflect and assimilate new knowledge'. Interestingly, some minority leaders found that it was through formal leadership programmes that they discovered leadership is not homogeneous but diverse as Respondent 31, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"The realisation that leadership comes in all sizes, shapes and colours*". Respondent 69, also a Heterosexual Woman states: "*An understanding that leadership is based on many and diverse theories not just one or a few and it is impacted by management, organisational development and informational systems"*.

2.2 Leadership training to have a norm critical point of view

Not all participants found leadership training relevant to them as a minority leader and the importance of leadership training challenging conventional ideas about leadership and leaders was highlighted as well as the provision of training in areas that participants found challenging: *"I'd like every leadership training to have a norm critical view. And that we discuss the subjects openly instead of worrying about coming across as the troublemaker for bring it up"* says Respondent 19, a Heterosexual Woman.

2.21 Training to smash myths

For women, pursuing perfection and trying to 'do it all' is likely to be recipe for disappointment. Leadership training needed to specifically address this in order to better support women: Respondent 76, a Heterosexual Woman states *"Most leaders are flawed but try hard - if we allowed women to believe they don't have to be perfect from day 1 they might have more self-belief"*.

2.22 Training to address navigating organisational politics

Organisational politics were a theme throughout the survey responses. The need to navigate the political landscape in order to progress came as a surprise for some participants: *"I think my success has been inhibited by naivety earlier on in my career to politics and others agendas"* says Respondent 96, a Heterosexual Woman of Mixed European and Asian heritage. *"I didn't realise I needed to do so much networking and schmoozing"* says Respondent 10, a British Lesbian. She goes on to say that organisational politics proved to be a career inhibitor for her: *"The hierarchy, the politics, the system, the bureaucracy, the underground bigotry and my internalised reaction to all of the above inhibit my success"*. Ultimately it also informed her career choices: *"I've heard that 'women just don't want the top jobs' which is true for me but only from the perspective that a thoroughly hideous and unpleasant culture exists there for anybody who isn't a cis, hetero, white, middle class man. I want to work towards making a difference, not spend all day managing stupid internal politics or fending off constant attacks, backstabs and patsying"*. Perhaps some of the frustrations, especially from female participants points to a need for a greater understanding of the value of networking in progression: *"I'm not invited to important and strategic meetings and I don't get a summary afterwards. I get some of the info from my manager when I have the chance to meet him. It feels like a "game". You have to have the right network to get the right information, you have to show yourself, you have to be tactical. It's not enough just doing a great job"* states Respondent 36, a Heterosexual Woman.

2.23 Training in emotional self-control/emotional intelligence

The use of emotions intelligently by a leader is thought to contribute both to the effectiveness of the leader and to organisational goals (Goleman 1999). Although there are many definitions of emotional intelligence and they vary widely, it can be considered a set of competencies that enable a person to evaluate and manage their own emotions, recognise the needs and concerns of others and successfully influence them. Emotional intelligence is often covered in leadership training (certainly programmes I deliver) and leadership literature and it is interesting that participants identified it as valuable; perhaps recognising that emotional intelligence maybe valuable more broadly in coping with organisational demands and pressures. As well as citing emotional intelligence as valuable in developing self-awareness, participants found leadership development useful in *"the recognition of self and emotional response to organisational cultural weathering"* – Respondent 65 a Gay mixed White and Asian Man.

2.3 Secondments/trying out

Three participants suggested secondments as a way to try out leadership roles and develop their leadership skills. Secondments had also facilitated the move into a leadership role: Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Woman says: "*I was unsuccessful, but was offered a 12-month secondment role instead. I was told they thought I had potential, but not quite ready for role. Once I started the secondment - within 3 months they offered to make role permanent".*

2.4 Coaching from someone with an understanding of leadership

Coaching was considered an important development intervention and was cited 19 times by respondents. Specifically, coaching was considered beneficial from someone with 'content'; that is leadership experience. Perhaps because of their experience, experienced leaders can reference the norms of leadership behaviour; what a leader should do. This may be particularly important where leadership expectations are not clear. Coaching was also thought to help *"with the resilience and also supports when self-limiting behaviours start to creep in"* – Respondent 65, a Gay Man.

3.0 Manager Training

Participants made recommendations relating to the training of managers as part of an *"official diversity strategy with specific initiatives from the business"* – Respondent 19, a Heterosexual Woman. 'The business' seems to be proxy for senior leadership, perhaps a recognition that diversity and inclusion do not result spontaneously but as a result of specific action and sponsorship from the top of the organisation: *"an actual declaration from senior leadership"* Respondent 42, a Gay Man.

3.1 Training existing leaders in the value of diversity

Women and minorities moving into leadership positions represent a change for some organisations and their senior leadership and the presence of different leaders maybe challenging: Respondent 15, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"I am now a Board director having been promoted around a year ago. I was promoted to an all-male, all-white board and I was quite conscious at the time that I represented something different. Whilst I was never made to feel unwelcome, think that it took a while for communication to open up and for people to relate to me"*. Training for existing leaders in the value of diversity might be valuable in helping them to be more open to difference: *"Teach existing leaders the value of diversity and difference. Help aspiring leaders seek out mentoring to bring out the best in themselves"* suggests Respondent 94, a Gay Man. Leaders in organisations need to be *"accepting that people communicate in different ways and that there is more than one way to be successful"* says Respondent 15, a Heterosexual Woman. Training might need to focus on the value of difference and how to work with it: *"A culture of accepting differences and as I said above, making them work instead of running away from them. An enabling system of rewards where effort is recognised alongside results. organisational situational diversity - i.e. simple structures that allow day to day meaningful interaction between people that represent the entire range of humanity. Interaction is what gives diversity its meaning."* – Respondent 31, a Heterosexual Woman.

3.2 Train Managers in understanding how to make BME, LGBT and women more comfortable

Managers needed to have a better understanding of what they can do to make minorities more comfortable in the workplace. Organisations such as the NHS were already running mandatory training for managers but as Respondent 10, a Lesbian says: *"employees are aware through their mandatory training what words they are not allowed to say but they are not invited to discuss why equality, diversity and human rights are important in the workplace, how they can go about making others feel more comfortable and what the evidence is."*. More generally she says, they need to be: *"a bit more educated or exposed to the issues that women, BME or LGBT employees face would make the working world a slightly more pleasant and less stressful place to exist".*

3.3 Train managers to provide support, encouragement and feedback

Lack of support and feedback were cited as impediments to progression. Respondent 14, a British Indian Heterosexual Man cites *"lack of encouragement for BME staff and lack of training and lack of feedback"*. Equally, support and feedback were identified as factors in the development and success of the participants: *"Having received regular feedback prior to this first role on how I delivered in my role i.e. not just what I was doing but more importantly how I did it and how it impacted other people"* –Respondent 55, a Heterosexual Woman. The value of feedback from managers (and others) is widely recognised in leadership development and managers who had the skills to offer feedback and support had positively impacted on the progression of the participants.

3.31 Train managers to recognise early success

As a subset of feedback, recognising early successes was considered important; perhaps because of the confidence building effect this might have.

4.0 Selection

For participants, the selection process would benefit from assessing values in the recruitment process for leaders and also increased diversity from the decision makers.

4.1 Embed values into leaders' recruitment

Values-based interviews, where candidates for leadership roles are asked to talk about belief and values, may help recruiters and selection panels to get a fuller sense of who they are and their suitability as a leader. Selecting leaders whose values align with corporate values may help recruiters to consider candidates with non-traditional backgrounds or experience.

4.2 Create diverse selection panels

Women or members of minority groups characteristics may differentially shape the perception and behaviour of the interviewer and the outcome of interview due to conscious or unconscious prejudices about their acceptability as leaders or even just the interviewer's unfamiliarity with leaders from those particular backgrounds. Employees from as wide a range of backgrounds as possible participating in selection panels may help to eliminate bias in the process and also provide a more positive impression and experience for the candidates. Where possible organisations should ensure *"a more diverse, sympathetic interview panel"* says Respondent 13, an Indian Heterosexual Man.

5.0 Leadership models

Lack of clarity about what leadership is and the routes into leadership were described as challenges for minority leaders. Organisations may be able to increase their diversity of the leadership by ensuring leadership competencies are clear and allow for a variety of styles.

5.1 Transparent paths into leadership

For some, the actual routes into leadership had been unclear: *"Disorganised company and unclear career path"* – Respondent 36 a Heterosexual Woman. Clear and *"transparent paths to leadership and even standards for all people in the same roles"* were cited as necessary for minority leaders to progress by Respondent 40, an American Lesbian.

5.2 Clear definition of leadership expectations/leadership model

Interestingly there were different views about what a leader was and how it differed (if at all from manager). Participants sometimes associated leadership with seniority and management with products and people. Greater clarity about what leadership was and what was expected was a common theme: *"The organisation having a clear, common leadership philosophy - this will give you a framework of skills and behaviours to work towards"* recommends Respondent 72, a Heterosexual Woman. *"Clarity of role/expectations/success factors"* – Respondent 35, a Heterosexual Woman). *"Understanding what the key qualities and attributes of leadership mean in terms of your job roles - understanding what effective leadership behaviours the organisation is actually looking for"* says Respondent 41, a Gay Man. *"Clear goals to achieve as a leader"* says Respondent 48, a Heterosexual Woman.

5.2 Value different/diverse leadership styles and diverse leaders

Participants highlighted the need to widen the leadership paradigm to include more diverse leadership styles and diverse leaders. Embracing difference approaches and styles might help to define new standards of leadership. *"An understanding that leadership is based on many and diverse theories not just one or a few and it is impacted by management, organisational development and informational systems"* Says Respondent 69 a Heterosexual Woman. In Addition, the challenges minority leaders face may actually be a source of advantage: *"work the difficulties - it is because it is difficult that it provides for an opportunity to be stellar"* suggests Respondent 31, a Heterosexual Woman. More generally, she says, cultures which value difference should be created: *"A culture of accepting differences and as I said above, making them work instead of running away from them. An enabling system of rewards where effort is recognised alongside results. Organisational*

situational diversity - i.e. simple structures that allow day to day meaningful interaction between people that represent the entire range of humanity. Interaction is what gives diversity its meaning".

6.0 Confidence

Confidence and interventions which build confidence were important in the success of minority leaders with some stating that they had struggled with issues of confidence. Respondent 17, a Gay Man says *"Having to sometimes direct others, and ensure they are happy in their work, when the people concerned may not understand why - or accept that - you are their leader requires a large degree of self-confidence. We don't all have that in abundance!"*. 46.6% reported in the multiple-choice question that lack of self-confidence was an obstacle.

6.1 Be yourself

Being comfortable with oneself and having confidence to relax was considered important: *"Have confidence in yourself - demand it if you know you can do it…….Be patient - relax more in the here and now"* – Respondent 17, a Gay Man. Perhaps if minority leaders are able to deal accept themselves are individuals who were worthy of respect and recognition, others might treat them the same way. Advancement for minorities sometimes means downplaying accepts of their gender, culture or sexual orientation, so it was notable that participants encouraged others to "*Always be true to yourself"* – Respondent 66, a Gay Man. Taking the best of others' leadership and incorporating those characteristics in an authentic way was also offered as advice by Respondent 55, a Heterosexual Woman : *"Identify some key attributes demonstrated by the best leaders that you work with (i.e. real people) and see how you can develop that attribute whilst being true to yourself".*

6.2 Live your values

For participants, leaders know what they value and lead accordingly. Respondent 14, a Heterosexual BME Indian Man explains: *"Leadership is all about your own values and behaviour….Be true to your values and always put patients first and treat everyone with respect. I had to define my own values and change my own leadership style since then everything has been easy".* Perhaps clarity of values also enabled minority leaders to stay true to their purpose*: "Stay focussed on your goal. Always believe in yourself, regardless of your sexuality. Always be true to yourself and stay honest in your daily work" –* Respondent 66, a Gay Man.

7.0 Networking

Participants recognised networking to be key to success in the professional world even if some did not enjoy it (or were surprised at its importance): *"It felt very lonely at first, some form of network might have helped"* says Respondent 55 a Heterosexual Woman. Sponsorship was also considered valuable. Mentoring or sponsor relationships can provide critical personal and professional development opportunities and may be especially important for minority leaders if they lack access to informal networks and information that is required to be successful in work environment in which they are under-represented

7.1 Build a network

Creating networks both internally and externally was recommended for both support and visibility: *"Build a supportive network - both in the office and out of the office"* says Respondent 42 a Gay Man. Respondent 65 also a Gay Man says *"Resilience and focus are key but also being able to network and make sure people know your name for the right things"*. Networks might offer a safe space for testing ideas and seeking help: *"Make a network of people who you can sense-check your ideas with, in a safe and impartial environment. Ask for help"* – Respondent 78 a Heterosexual Woman.

7.2 Sponsorship

Respondent 42 recommends: *"Find a sponsor in the organisation"*. Sponsorship as distinct from networking, may mean someone in a senior position who might open doors or 'stick their neck out' in order to progress someone's career.

8.0 Role Models

Leadership role models were important in provides examples of *"Effective corporate leadership (a healthy culture, role modelling the behaviour we hold others accountable for)"* - Respondent 35 a Heterosexual Woman. Also, a lack of leadership role models was cited as an inhibitor to success: *"Lack of strong leadership role models in the current organisation"* – Respondent 55, a Heterosexual Woman.

8.1 Minority Leader Role Models

Minority leader as role models may be valuable in helping minority leaders to success, as Respondent 55, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"Role models that you can relate to and again observe first hand"* perhaps as a visible precedent. Some minority leaders found few role models from their own group available: *"Very few role models - in our top 2 tiers there is only 2 BME people. But organisation has 54% BME population"* explains Respondent 23 a Heterosexual Asian Indian Woman. More identifiable minority role models were needed: *"More LGBT role models"* says Respondent 50, a Gay Man.

In summary, the first round of analysis of the survey data provided useful, if confirmatory data, in so far as the data supports many common leader development practices.

Thematic Analysis of Open Questions

A second round of data analysis was undertaken of all the open questions. This was carried out to broaden the analysis beyond just the themes relating to development interventions and to ensure that account was taken of the full contribution of participants, in support of the aim

to give them ‘voice’ and to better understand their experiences. For clarity, the numbering of the themes identified during the analysis of the open questions starts at 1.0.

Figure 7.0 Thematic Analysis of Open Questions is below:

How were you selected for your first leadership position?	What was helpful to you in moving into a leadership position?	Did you encounter any opposition? If yes, what form did it take?	What would have made the transition easier for you?	What three things would you suggest to make transition to leadership smoother for others?	What challenges did you face in your first three months?	What challenges do you face now?	What in your opinion defines a good leader?	Would you describe yourself as a successful leader - if so what would you say are the criteria of your success? If not what inhibits your success?	What three things would you suggest need to be in place to support leaders like you to be successful?	In terms of moving further up your organisation, what inhibitors (if any) do you face to career progression?	Have you had any formal leadership development such as training, coaching or mentoring? If yes, please describe.	If you have received formal leadership development, what has been most helpful?	What has been the most critical experience (or experiences) in developing you as a leader?
1.1	2.1	3.1	4.1	5.1	6.1	7.1	8.1	9.1	10.1	11.1	12.1	13.1	14.1
Formal Processes	Support from managers	Undermining and exclusion	Culture	Mentoring	Stereotypes	Time	Leads by example	Supportive and challenging	Support from above	Bias	Coaching and mentoring	Coaching and mentoring	Overcoming discrimination
	2.2	3.2	4.2	5.2	6.2	7.2	8.2	9.2	10.2	11.2	12.2	13.2	14.2
	Training	Being put in their place	Mentoring	Leadership training	Lack of support (due to minority status)	Obstacles and microagressions	Direction and vision	A coach and role model	Coaching and Mentoring	Lack of further opportunities	Formal leadership training	MBTI and personality profiling	Learning from failure
	2.3	3.3	4.3	5.3	6.3	7.3	8.3	9.3	10.3	11.3	12.3		14.3
	Confidence	Assumed to have been promoted	Management support	Clear definition of role	Managing time and priorities	Increased resistance due to progression	Integrity and authenticity	Fairness and respect	Role models	Confidence	Masters/Doctoral programmes		Stretch assignments

		due to gender, ethnicity, or sexuality											
	2.4	3.4	4.4	5.4	6.4	7.4	8.4	9.4	10.4				
	Networking with others	Challenge to competence	Shadowing/exposure prior to the role	Confidence	Building relationships	Authenticity vs playing the game	Approachable and accessible	Confidence as an inhibitor	Networks				
			4.5	5.5			8.5		10.5				
			Training and development				Developing others		Leadership training				
							8.7		10.6				
									Cultures that value difference				

The section below provides detail from the analysis of the open questions.

1. How were you selected for your first leadership position?

1.1 Formal Process

The only common single theme here was a formal process, generally interviews.

2. What was helpful to you in moving into a leadership position?

2.1 Support from managers

Support from managers was a fairly consistent response and it seems that strong advocacy from a line manager is a significant factor in promotion. Employees probably get most of their performance feedback from their direct line manager who is therefore likely to be a critical intermediary in performance (Purcell et al 2007). Further, managers (irrespective of whether they were a direct line manager of whether they were from the same minority group) could provide insights as to what was required: *"Having support from senior managers is critical to moving up as they will have a good idea of what is required. I have never had that type of support from a person that was from an ethnic background. I think that is because we just do not have many senior BME managers."* Explains Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Asian Woman.

2.2 Training

As in the first thematic analysis, training comes up as an important factor in helping minority leaders into their first line management role.

2.3 Confidence

Along with their experience, some participants cited confidence as a factor in moving into a leadership position: *"Track record, experience PLUS confidence"* says Respondent 31, a Heterosexual Woman. Confidence is a theme throughout the survey in terms of being an enabler of success, and a lack of confidence being an inhibitor. An important finding is that training needs to be designed to build confidence.

2.4 Networking with others

Having access to others in similar roles provided opportunities to understand the requirements of the role, sometimes through observations, and to share experiences: *"Having contact with others who were already in a similar role to share experiences with them"* says Respondent 15, a Heterosexual Woman.

3.0 Did you encounter any opposition? If yes, what form did it take?

3.1 Undermining and exclusion

Participants cited being undermined as a result of their difference: "*Undermining or taking glory for my success was often the case*" (Respondent 11, a Heterosexual Woman). Unfair criticism was also cited: *"Throughout my career I have received criticism from managers who believe my approach (although demonstrably effective) is somehow too calm, rational, and agreeable. I have fought against the unspoken requirement to be loud, assertive and emphatic to get things done"* (Respondent 15, a Heterosexual Woman). Other examples include not having their ideas or contributions recognised or being excluded from carrying out certain responsibilities. Describing her experience, Respondent 19, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"Overall it has mainly general attitude challenges for being young and a woman. I have always until this/last year been the youngest or one of the youngest at my level. Example of that would be not taking me/my sole recommendation seriously. Or not letting me present a project I'd solely be running in fear of company not showing enough gravitas in front of client"*. Exclusion from events was also cited: *"being a member of a minority group (or a woman) immediately identifies you as 'an other' and so you don't*

automatically get invited to the most useful social events - you have to barge your way in of your own accord and do your best to 'fit in'" explains Respondent 10, a Lesbian.

3.2 Being put in their place

Although this is similar to 3.1, it is worth calling out separately as the 'sense of place' is important in understanding power structures in organisations. As a concept, it is interesting as it is felt rather than made explicit: *"Opposition has come from people who thought that leadership was not my role and I should know my place"* states Respondent 17, a Gay Man. It is often expressed as a subtle form of discrimination: *"It was always subtle…..My own manager and colleagues would and do say 'You have done really well given your circumstances and you should be really pleased to be where you are"* says Respondent 23 a Heterosexual Woman Female; *" have also found that some managers are intolerant of difference …and don't get why I might have different priorities to them - almost all straight white family men. This sometimes comes back as subtly discriminatory feedback on what I should or shouldn't be doing, which is based on their one world view, and subjective opinion on what success is"* says Respondent 94, a Gay Man. Interestingly opposition to women in leadership roles also came from other women. As Respondent 72, a Heterosexual Woman says *"I've had more opposition later as I've moved into more senior roles, I have felt at times there is a hostility towards a woman being quite assertive and proactive where there isn't towards a comparable male colleague behaving in the same way. This comes through as a dismissive attitude or lack of cooperation when I'm carrying out my normal responsibilities. This is especially from older colleagues and both male and female. Think it is to do with both age and gender"*.

Florence, an executive coach in describing her work with women in Dubai says *"Ultimately, they were all at some point what I would call put back in their box: "Don't forget who you are. Lucky you that we're spending a bit more money on you, but remember. Remember to toe the line. Don't be thinking you can just do anything, because obviously at some point you're going to get married and have children. We all know your limitations." Again, I'm*

paraphrasing. There is a sort of, "We all know that your career is limited," kind of conversation that goes on".

Respondent 40, a Lesbian says: *"I was often told to take up extra work for those with less seniority (not the standard of other leaders) as they had family/spouse at home and I did not. This created additional work for me that I was expected to be able to manage as well as my own workload. In addition to that my boss made it clear that he was uncomfortable with the fact that I was a lesbian and outside of the people he liked to promote to positions of power within the workforce".* From my own experience and discussing this with other LGB people in my network, this is not uncommon; the assumption that because you are not heterosexual, you can work longer or out of hours, travel, etc. even compared to heterosexual colleagues without children. As LGB people our home and personal lives do not carry the same value and therefore do not warrant the same consideration in the workplace.

3.3. Assumed to have been promoted due to gender, ethnicity or sexuality

Participants described experiences where they faced suggestions that they were actually promoted to their roles not based on merit but simply because of their minority status: *"People often thought the job was given because of the skin colour"* says Respondent 21 an African/Chinese Woman; *"It was always considered as quota or box ticking not for my skills or achievements etc."* says Respondent 64 a Mixed White/Asian Gay Man.

3.4 Challenge to competence

Some participants described direct challenges to their competence based on their minority status. Respondent 31, a Mediterranean Female says: *"There were constituents that doubted how achievable my proposed objectives were and openly questioned my gender and ethnic background (and age) in terms of being able to deliver on my stated objective".*

4.0 What would have made the transition easier for you?

4.1 Culture

Here participants addressed culture in the organisations that they worked for. Respondent 10, a Lesbian says: *"People generally being a bit more educated or exposed to the issues that women, BME or LGBT employees face would make the working world a slightly more pleasant and less stressful place to exist"*.

4.2 Mentoring

As noted before, mentoring was cited by a number of participants as an intervention of potential value. For women having a female mentor was highlighted. Respondent 19, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"A mentor. I have only had one and I felt that it helped having him on my side. I'd also like to try to have a female mentor"*. The implication seems to be that a female mentor can help address specific challenges related to gender: *"Having a strong female mentor, or an organisation that was aware of gender issues"* – Respondent 78, a Heterosexual Woman.

4.3 Management Support

Earlier, management support was identified as a contributor to progression. Respondent 23, an Asian Indian Female, highlights that management support would have been beneficial: *"Encouragement from my own managers to move on. I have always had to look for and apply for senior roles, whereas am aware colleagues have been able to 'slip into the next role' with that role never being advertised etc."*.

4.4 Shadowing/Exposure Prior to the Role

As before, an opportunity to try out or get exposure to roles before progression to them was considered valuable. Respondent 28, a Heterosexual Woman, says *"Prior exposure even if*

only short-lived projects" "Shadowing an existing, effective deputy head" – Respondent 29 – a Gay Man. Perhaps opportunities like job-shadowing or stretch-assignments provide great clarity about what is expected in the next role.

4.5 Training and Development

Again formal training in leadership skills was a consistent theme and implicit in the identification of training as important in supporting leaders, is that leadership is a skill rather than simply a role: *"Training and development in the skill of leadership rather than just clinical skills"* says Respondent 63, a Heterosexual Woman.

5.0 What three things would you suggest to make transition to leadership smoother for others?

5.1 Mentoring

Again, mentoring is regarded as a valuable resource to support the transition to leadership.

5.2 Leadership training

Leadership training is recommended but with a norm-critical perspective and space to raise diversity issues. Respondent 19, Heterosexual Woman says: *"I'd like every leadership training to have a norm critical view. And that we discuss the subjects openly instead of worrying about coming across as the troublemaker for bringing it up"*.

5.3 Clear definition of role

Clarity of role and performance expectations of leaders was recommended. Respondents 35 and 36 both Heterosexual women say respectively: *"Clarity of role/expectations/success factors"* and *"Role description: What is expected of you"*.

5.4 Confidence

Several participants cited having confidence as one of the three things that would make transitions easier. For example Respondent 92, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"Be confident and sell yourself. I have a tendency to be too humble which I believe works against me at time of promotion"*.

6.0 What challenges did you face in your first three months?

Participants were asked to describe the challenges they had faced in their first three months following their promotion to a leadership role.

6.1 Stereotypes

Stereotypes emerged as a challenge: *"Challenging and changing other people's bias (unconscious or not) about Hinduism)"* – Respondent 54, a Heterosexual Indian Man. For women, the stereotypes about women's competence versus men's still exists: "*The old adage surprisingly proves to be 100% rooted in fact; "A man is assumed to be competent until proven otherwise, a woman is assumed to be incompetent until proven otherwise"* – Respondent 10, a Lesbian.

6.2 Lack of support (due to minority status)

Lack of support (which might be common to all leaders) was cited but specifically denied due to minority status. This was expressed in different ways from more overt discriminatory behaviour to less inclusive but potentially unconscious behaviours. Respondent 14, a

Heterosexual British Indian Man says *"Many did not support me because of my ethnicity. Many talked over me and some ignored me. Some tried to remove me"*. Women described some of the challenges of being the only woman around the board table: *"I am now a Board director having been promoted around a year ago. I was promoted to an all-male, all-white board and I was quite conscious at the time that I represented something different. Whilst I was never made to feel unwelcome, I think that it took a while for communication to open up and for people to relate to me"* – Respondent 15, a Heterosexual Woman and *"I was the only woman in the boardroom and struggled to make myself heard - was too polite. When I did get a word in they did listen"* – Respondent 76 also a Heterosexual Woman.

6.3 Managing time and priorities

Clearly moving into a leadership role brings additional responsibilities which are not necessarily clear. Time management is a core leadership competency, not least because leaders need to determine and then make deliberate choices about priorities for themselves and their teams: *"Not enough time, uncertainty with regard to authority and responsibility"* – Respondent 20, a Heterosexual Filipino Man and *"Mainly balancing figuring out the job task and how to navigate the new role at the same time"* – Respondent 19, a Heterosexual Woman.

6.4 Building relationships

Participants recognised that *"gaining people's trust and confidence"* (Respondent 26, a Heterosexual Woman) and "winning over my new colleagues" (Respondent 39 also a Heterosexual Woman) were important. As Goffee and Jones state in their book 'Why should anyone be led by you?', "Leadership must always be viewed as a relationship between the leader and the led" (Goffee and Jones 2006: 10) and transformational leadership approaches emphasise relationship quality as a factor in successfully leading people. Perhaps when the relationship between leaders and followers is stronger, communication is more frequent and trust is established. Respondent 44, a Gay Man says: *"The biggest challenge for me was getting to know employees that now reported to me and finding out*

their strengths and weaknesses. The other challenge was to help the direct reports understand my background and reason that I was in the position I was in".

7.0 What Challenges Do You Face Now?

7.1 Time

Managing time and competing priorities remains a challenge for leaders as well as the challenge of looking beyond the short term to focus on the longer-term implications of their roles: *"Finding time to work on long-term plans as opposed to firefighting"* – Respondent 48, a Heterosexual Woman.

7.2 Obstacles and Microaggressions

Some participants continued to face obstacles as a result of their minority status. As Respondent 10, a Lesbian says *"Daily microaggressions that exist in the workplace for women and minorities".* Respondent 13, a Heterosexual Indian Man cites *"Obstacles on the basis of race and colour".* So obstacles do not necessarily disappear when minority employees reach leadership positions: *"still have occasions where people talk to the male in the room and not me"* notes Respondent 76, a Heterosexual Woman.

7.3 Increased resistance due to progression

Whilst the minorities may still face obstacles, the nature of those obstacles may change. Respondent 15, a Heterosexual Woman says "*Interestingly, the challenge is different now. I think that it is actually harder now that people are more aware of my credentials as a leader - when I was 'new' I presented no threat".* For women age too may become a factor*: "Age discrimination appears to impact women more so than men now that I'm older"* says Respondent 69, a Heterosexual Woman.

7.4 Authenticity vs Playing the Game

The theme of authenticity came up for minorities: *"Balancing the wish to be authentic versus the need to change and whether being authentic is holding me back"* – Respondent 24, a Heterosexual Woman. Minority leaders may experience being 'a fish out of water' because their habitus is not objectively fitted to a field (leadership) which has historically not accommodated them and face a choice of being themselves or adapting themselves to expected behaviours. Respondent 36, a Heterosexual Woman explains: *"It feels like a 'game'. You have to have the right network to get the right information, you have to show yourself, you have to be tactical. It's not enough just doing a great job"*. "Habitus is not simply a mental schemata, but a way of bodily being in the world" (McLeod 2005: 14). Since authentic leadership is about embodying leadership rather than simply understanding it cognitively, that may present a challenge if what minority leaders embody is in conflict with the 'rules of the game'.

8.0 What in Your Opinion Defines a Good Leader?

8.1 Leads by example

Participants recognised that effective leaders needed to 'walk the talk' demonstrating consistency between words and actions and there seemed to be a consensus that leaders needed to lead by example: *"One who walks the talk. One who commands respect, trust and does a good job"* says Respondent 14, a Heterosexual BME British Indian Man.

8.2 Direction and vision

The ability to provide direction and vision was cited in a number of responses. Respondent 55, a Heterosexual Woman explains: *"Ability to communicate the future outcomes that the organisation needs to achieve and the part the individual can play in delivering that outcome"*. This ability to create an inspiring vision is characteristic of transformational leadership theories and a factor in the motivation of others.

8.3 Integrity and authenticity

Integrity and authenticity were characteristics identified by participants in response to this question: *"Someone who can put themselves in other people's shoes. Someone who has integrity"* – Respondent 19, a Heterosexual Woman. *"Someone who has a strong belief in equal rights. Someone who is prepared to stand up for what they believe in"* – Respondent 19, a Gay Man. This suggests that participants valued leaders who had commitment to do the right thing irrespective of the circumstances and were *"Trustworthy, coherent and honest"* – Respondent 15, a Heterosexual Woman.

8.4 Approachable and accessible

There were a range of responses related to leaders being approachable, accessible and had the interests of their team at heart. Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"Accessible - people feel able to talk to them".*

8.5 Developing others

The leaders' role in developing others was valued by participants. Growth and development are often significant levers for retention so it is unsurprising that investing time in developing others was considered a quality of good leaders: *"Someone who wants to develop and include everyone on the team and work with people where they are"* – Respondent 22, a Heterosexual Woman.

9.0 Would you describe yourself as a successful leader - if so what would you say are the criteria of your success? If not what inhibits your success?

9.1 Supportive and challenging

The ability to provide both support and challenge was cited as criteria for success. Sanford's theory of support and challenge (Sanford 1962) holds that for development to occur colleges must balance the support and challenge offered to students. If learning and growth, and indeed motivation, are to occur in the workplace then both must be sufficiently balance in order to avoid burnout or stagnation. Respondent 9, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"Provide support and challenge and let people get on with delivering the results"*.

9.2 A coach and role model

Being a coach and a role model were criteria for the success of the leaders in the study: *"I do what I say I will. I exhibit good behaviours. I respect everyone's contribution"* says Respondent 63, a Heterosexual Woman. *"Coaching not telling - not being afraid to tell sometimes (a contradiction!?). Being willing to speak up and ask to have difficult conversations. Caring about whether people are happy in their role/the team. Trying to play to people's strengths"*- Respondent 17, a Gay Man.

9.3 Fairness and respect

Fairness and respect are dimensions of transformational leadership as they establish the ethical standards others are expected to follow, what is termed 'idealised influence': *"I treat employees fairly and with respect that they work hard for me"* Respondent – 44, a Gay Man, *"Equity, fairness, accountable and holding others to account"* – Respondent 59, a Heterosexual Asian British Woman.

9.4 Lack of Confidence as an inhibitor

Lack of confidence was the single most common inhibitor cited by participants (17%). Respondents 92 and 19 both Heterosexual Women say: *"I am not as confident as I could be and at times I spend too much time on the details rather than focussing on the big picture"* and *"I think I need to get more confidence. I'd say that I'm good because of my career path*

so far and being able to progress to this level. Bad as I still worry about being good enough". It is interesting to note that participants acknowledged their successes and cited confidence as an inhibitor to further progression. So success in itself does not appear to fully build confidence: *"I think I am successful in some ways. Our work in challenging homophobia has been very successful. The only things that inhibit my success are my lack of self-confidence and poor self-esteem mostly linked to the job"* – Respondent 29, a Gay Man.

10.0 What three things would you suggest need to be in place to support leaders like you to be successful?

The responses to this question are broadly similar to the overall analysis of support for progression.

10.1 Support from above

Commitment and support from the top of the organisation was cited by several participants: *"Organisational support for managers"* – Respondent 48, a Heterosexual Woman, *"Support from the seniors"* – Respondent 8, a Heterosexual British Asian Man.

10.2 Coaching and mentoring

Coaching and mentoring are both highly personalised interventions and may specifically address confidence. Respondent 65, a Gay Man says: *"Coaching, this helps with resilience and also supports when self-limiting behaviours start to creep in"*. Coaching and mentoring seem to provide a facility for stretch but with appropriate support: *"Women need to have mentors, and supporters who will provide feedback and give chances to fail while providing some safety needs"* – Respondent 39, a Heterosexual Woman.

10.3 Role models

Role models provide examples of what good leadership looks like: *"Effective corporate leadership (a healthy culture, role modelling the behaviour we hold others accountable for"* – Respondent 35, Heterosexual Woman. Diverse role models were important: *"Visibility of good, diverse leaders as inspirational examples"* – Respondent 10, a Lesbian.

10.4 Networks

Networks were considered valuable for leaders to share experience. These needed to be managed organisationally to ensure networking took place: *"Networking with peers - but managed so that you initially develop formal networks"* – Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Woman.

10.5 Leadership Training

As before, leadership training was considered important for progression: *"More importantly is a values and ethics programme for all leaders to measure and effect change within the dominant leadership culture"* Respondent 65, a Gay Man; *"Structured programme at an early stage in the career which allows an individual to progress in clear steps"* – Respondent 55, a Heterosexual Woman.

10.6 Cultures that value difference

Participants described elements of organisational culture that could be helpful in supporting minority leaders. Respondent 69, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"1. Willingness to give women and ethnic minorities opportunities to lead. 2. A work environment that encourages leadership that is innovative and takes risks. 3. A workplace that uses failure as a learning tool that makes leadership strong not inhibits or condemns it"*. This might also

include removing poor leaders: *"Appoint value-based leaders. Remove those who are poor leaders. Promote right culture"* – Respondent 14 a Heterosexual BME British Indian Man. Accepting and valuing diversity were important: *"A culture of accepting difference…making them work instead of running away from them. Organisational situational diversity - i.e. Simple structures that allow day to day meaningful interaction between people that represent the entire range of humanity. Interaction is what gives diversity its meaning"* says Respondent 31, Heterosexual Mediterranean non-White Woman. This last comment is notable as it suggests organisations intervene to facilitate interactions between different groups at work, an interesting idea.

11.0 In terms of moving further up your organisation, what inhibitors (if any) do you face to career progression?

11.1 Bias

Forms of bias, particularly systemic, were described as inhibitors for participants. Notably this was across the different minorities who participated, for example: *"Lack of recognition for BME talents"* – Repondent 59, a Heterosexual Asian British Female; *"The system itself and how it views black females"* – Respondent 62 a Heterosexual Guyanese Woman; *"The dominant heterosexual, white system for men and women of a certain type which I clearly do not fit"* – Respondent 65, a Gay Mixed White and Asian Man; *"Racism, subconscious bias of many good people, lack of encouragement for BME staff"* – Respondent 14, a Heterosexual BME British Indian Man; *"Very few role models - in top 2 tiers there is only 2 BME people. But the organisation has 54% BME population"* – Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Asian Indian Woman; *"I have hit a glass ceiling - despite being very high achieving my boss won't promote me to regional directorship (has appointed an all male team)"* – Respondent 78 a Heterosexual Woman. So, the perception of minority leaders is that there is a ceiling that prevents further progression and that the ceiling is supported by bias. For some participants further progression was a risk due to their minority status: *"I think the higher up you go, the more people want you to fail. I think this is true for both men and women but I think women still stick out more and people believe that women can't stand the heat"* – Respondent 39, a Heterosexual Woman.

11.2 Lack for further opportunities

Some participants had reached a point where further progression was limited, if possible at all: *"Dead man's shoes - the blighters won't retire anymore!"* – Respondent 10 a Lesbian; *"To be honest right now it is probably a lack of opportunities in a reducing organisation than anything else"* Respondent 22 – a Woman, Mixed Heritage.

11.3 Lack of Confidence

Again, lack of confidence was raised as an inhibitor to progression and something participants need to work on *"My own self-belief at times"* says Respondent 58 a Heterosexual Woman.

12.0 Have you had any formal leadership development such as training, coaching or mentoring? If yes, please describe.

12.1 Coaching and mentoring

Some participants had benefited from coaching and mentoring as part of their leadership development, both internal and external.

12.2 Formal leadership training

Some had also participated in formal leadership training. This varied from *"Masterclasses on value based leadership"* – Respondent 14 a Heterosexual BME British Indian Man to very comprehensive and structured programmes of development: *"Leadership assessments…executive coaching, mentoring, training, skills building, development planning and accountability and support for trying new things and taking risks"* – Respondent 35 a Heterosexual Woman.

12.3 Masters/Doctoral programmes

Four participants had been able to obtain sponsorship from their organisations for Masters programmes including an MBA and MA, a MA in High Performing Leaders and a Masters in Leadership for Quality Improvement in Healthcare and one had undertaken a doctoral programme in management.

13.0 If you have received formal leadership development, what has been most helpful?

13.1 Coaching and mentoring

Again, coaching and mentoring is highly valued. Respondent 62, a Heterosexual Woman says: *"Mentoring. I have the best mentor in the world". "Coaching from a member of GAP International. It taught me that if I want things to change it is about me - not about assuming everyone should see that the change is necessary"* – Respondent 55, a Heterosexual Woman. Given how often coaching and mentoring were raised as valuable by participants it is clear that supplementing formal leadership programmes with coaching and/or mentoring may significantly improve their value.

13.2 MBTI and personality profiling

I use MBTI extensively, other instruments also but less frequently, but still I was surprised to see it referenced several times by participants: *"Myers Briggs and similar feedback was enlightening"* – Respondent 92, a Heterosexual Woman. Psychometric instruments can be an important source of self-awareness; the primary injunction for leaders is to 'know thyself' and that might explain in part why they were found to be valuable. Further, Myers Briggs is one of the few instruments that describes personality and personality differences positively and so it fits well in a context of valuing difference. Certainly, as an instrument it can

support leaders to become aware of their own habits, recognise difference in others and thus bridge differences by adjusting perspectives and behaviours.

14.0 What has been the most critical experience (or experiences) in developing you as a leader?

14.1 Overcoming discrimination

Some participants stated that their experiences of discrimination and their struggle to overcome it were the most critical leadership development experiences: *"Someone telling me 'I don't want an Indian to be leader'. My own determination and ability to learn and adapt"* – Respondent 14, a Heterosexual BME British Indian Man; *"Discrimination based on ethnicity, social background and religion"* – Respondent 54, a Heterosexual Indian Man. It is an interesting finding that some participants have chosen to turn their experiences of discrimination into a source of learning and to derive value from them.

14.2 Learning from failure

Several participants identified *"failures from which I had to learn"* (Respondent 24, a Heterosexual Woman) as critical learning experiences. Learning was thus experiential and meant that participants made mistakes. As Respondents 26 and 31, both Heterosexual Women state: *"Learning the hard way…facing into the unknown"* and *"Failure! I have learnt the most valuable lessons by recognising and being grateful for my mistakes"*. Perhaps there is value to be had as part of leadership development programmes in reflecting on the challenges participants have faced (irrespective of whether they are a minority) as a source of learning and value: *"Being knocked down and thrown off course - show that we are all human, but that negative experiences shouldn't stop us…learn from them, use them and move on"* – Respondent 95, a Gay Man.

14.3 Stretch assignments

Stretch assignments where participants were placed outside of comfort zone were critical in developing them. Respondents 35 and 48 both Heterosexual Women say *"Stretch assignments that were challenging and achievable - plus the feedback"* and *"Given responsibility for things that were just outside of my comfort zone and succeeding with it"* Again, the experiential nature of learning is highlighted: *"It is experiential. Being put in situations where you have the chance to fail makes you stronger and knowing that there is someone who has your back allows you to take those chances"* – Respondent 39, a Heterosexual Woman.

Summary Comment

Analysis of the open questions provided deeper insight into the experiences of the participants. Two key themes emerged: first that participants place value on coaching and mentoring; and second that a lack of confidence may present challenges for leaders. These themes may be related; coaching and mentoring are focused on the individual (as opposed to group learning interventions) and the bespoke nature might provide opportunity to address issue of confidence more effectively than, for example, a leadership training programme. The analysis of the survey laid the ground work for the next stage of data gathering – interviews.

Interviews

The survey was followed up by in-depth interviews with five minority leaders. Each of the interview participants has been given a pseudonym to protect their identity.

1. Angela – a Black Heterosexual Woman, Project Manager, Digital Print Company
2. Jenny – a White Heterosexual Woman, Head of Tax and Treasury, Gaming Company
3. Lena – a White Lesbian, Managing Partner, 'Big Four' Professional Services Firm
4. Jason – a White Gay Man, Deputy Head Teacher, London Primary School
5. Jack – a White Gay Man, Equity Partner, Global Law Firm

Two further interviews were conducted with practitioners:

6. Florence – a White Heterosexual Woman, Executive Coach/OD Consultant

7. Maureen – a White Lesbian, Executive Coach/OD Consultant

Interviews were conducted confidentially and recorded. The interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically and coded (below). Copies of the transcriptions were sent to interviewees to review and to make any changes that they wished to. Thematic analysis cannot fully convey the richness of the participant's stories and experiences but were helpful in revealing similarities in terms of experience despite the significant differences in the participants and the environment in which they worked.

Eight themes were identified. For clarity, the number of the themes begins again at 1.0.

1. Leadership Development
2. Leadership Models
3. Leadership Definitions
4. Minority Leaders
5. Majority Leaders
6. Networks
7. Voice
8. Being 'Out' at Work

Figure 8.0 Thematic Analysis of Interviews

1.0 Leadership Development	2.0 Organisations Lack Clear Definitions of Leadership	3.0 Defining Leadership	4.0 Minority Leadership	5.0 Majority Leaders	6.0 Networks	7.0 Voice	8.0 Being out at Work
1.1 Programmes need to take into account the experience of minority leader needs		3.1 Developing Others	4.1 Determination				8.1 Fear of Disclosure
1.2 Women's Development Programmes		3.2 Ethics, values and standing up for what you believe in	4.2 Differentiation and Strength				8.2 Authenticity
1.3 Minority Leaders' development is often experiential		3.3 Relationship Skills					

The section below provide more detail from, and commentary about the analysis.

1.0 Leadership Development

Leadership programmes had been offered to three participants; two who had been working for larger global organisations and one specifically designed for deputy head teachers. The law company and the digital print business did not offer leadership programmes for their leaders.

1.1 Programmes need to take into account the experience of minority leader needs

Although participants who attended leadership programmes found them useful they felt that programmes could be more nuanced: *"We had leadership development programs, but they would cut one part of program, designed largely by straight white men, for straight white men. But everybody got put through the same program. So consequently it was a little bit hit and miss for how well those programs landed with minority groups, if you will…..I just found it difficult to connect with the formal development being written for me….I would have benefited more from the more nuanced leadership programs that talked more about different styles, different preferences, different social styles, etc."* (Lena).

1.2 Women's development programmes

Women's leadership development programmes are increasingly common, perhaps more so than leadership programmes designed for BME or LGB leaders. Programmes specifically for women provided space for women to discuss and develop strategies for overcoming personal and organisational obstacles: *"We out, if you will, some of the elephants in the room. So maternity leave, women who want to be mums, what's the impact of that? How can you manage that load, that absence from the business? We talk about impact and self-confidence, and how do you project that, even when you don't feel it"* (Lena) . The programmes helped women to find the language to talk about very specific and often unspoken issues and address them: *"I think even it's true some of these more targeted programs, even giving people help with the language, so how do you address an issue in the workplace without sounding like you're being really defensive or aggressive or whatever it might be"* (Lena). In discovering that they were not alone in their experience and that existing organisational research described their experiences, they could reframe how they feel about themselves in the workplace.

1.3 Minority leaders' development is often experiential

Participants did not necessarily have a clear path to leadership and critical development experiences were often experiential: *"I would say that my leadership journey, it was more experiential than formal development stuff…..I've had a bit of a convoluted journey to*

leadership, and I think it's because there hasn't been a very clear path that worked for me" (Lena). Having a mentor who could provide advice about specific situations was valuable: *"I think in developing, it's always been individuals. It's been certain individuals I've worked for who have, at a time when I'm trying to break into a leadership position or do something differently, have sat down with me and given me advice whether requested or not, quite often not requested but given. For example, I wanted to become head of tax at xxx, which was a really big step up for me, and I had worked with ... I'd had a head of tax who had then gone on, done their roles within xxx. So I sat down with him and talked to him about it. He just gave me some really good, clear advice"* (Jenny). *"There was one chap in particular who was absolutely brilliant, technically. He was incredibly generous with that technical knowledge and experience in as much as we could go to him with a problem that you were trying to solve…… and he would never dismiss you, he would never make you feel like an idiot, he wanted to be assured that you'd at least attempt to solve the problem before going to him, and then he would just take time to walk you through it)"* (Lena).

At the law company, leadership capability was assumed and leadership development was considered an unnecessary expense: *"You are already a partner, therefore we think you can lead teams or we think you are a leader. Anything else on that is a drain on profits"* (Jack).

2.0 Organisations Lack Clear Definitions of Leadership

Most of the organisations in which the participants worked had no clear definitions of leadership. One organisation defined leadership in terms of eight attributes: *"We've developed eight that are absolutely necessary in order to be successful in that role. This is a relatively new evolution for us. The intention now is that we are going to take those eight attributes and as we develop people through leadership programs and so on, at an earlier stage, those develop programs are going to be built around these 8 attributes". (*Lena). The other organisations did not have formal leadership definitions or frameworks. *In the law company 'Partner' served as a proxy for leadership: "Partner is the tag for everyone who's doing the fee earning or is a lawyer and is also in a leadership position"* (Jack). This

finding is similar to the results of the survey and led to a discussion of what leadership is, which is discussed later.

Some participants did however, have role models that they influenced their own leadership styles and whom they wanted to emulate: *"I've worked for one Head who was so inspirational, who was really an amazing people manager. The kids absolutely worshiped him. They would have done anything for him. I think that is the kind of leader that I am becoming"* (Jason). Interestingly, participants' role models did not necessarily come from their own minority groups: *"There was another chap, there's a theme here, Wayne, and most of them were men…..I learned a lot about relationships and so on from him"* (Lena).

3.0 Defining Leadership

Participants were asked how they defined leadership based on their experience and leadership journeys. The three common themes here were: developing others; ethics, values and standing up for what you believe in; and Relationship Skills.

3.1 Developing others

Describing managers who had been role models, Lena said: *"I think universally, they were all incredibly generous with their time and their expertise and it actually took some delight in being able to play a part in somebody else's development in an on the job kind of way"*. Getting the best from others and supporting them were also cited by other participants as important suggesting that the role of a leaders goes beyond simply mobilising other to get the job done. Leaders have role in coaching others, helping them to think more broadly for themselves perhaps in order to create sustainable organisations. As one participant suggests: *"A very strong characteristic of partnerships is this notion of stewardship and legacy, and stewardship and legacy as a characteristic of partnerships (is) that you will depart the firm, leaving it in a better place than when you started. That's really*

fundamentally is from two aspects, from having grown the market and grown our clients, and growing our people" (Lena).

3.2 Ethics, Values and Standing Up For What You Believe In.

Leadership has an important role in creating an organisational reality based on values and ethics. Further ethics and values seem to provide an anchor for leadership behaviour: *"I think you've got to have a really clear set of values. You got to be prepared to stick by them. I think it's vital because you're bombarded so much by stuff from the government, from the borough, from other schools, all this kind of stuff. If you don't have your very clear set of values and ethics and stuff that you are prepared to stand up and fight for, I don't think you can be an effective Head teacher, I don't think you can be an effective leader"* (Jason). Perhaps their own experiences as a minority informed their value set. For example Jenny discussed the importance of fairness to her: *"To speak honestly, fairness, bordering on the communist side of it, I get really ... Yeah. Belief in fairness. By fairness I mean really believing that you will treat everybody in the same way regardless of what their role is and what they're doing. I think in doing what you say you're going to do and when you say something, really meaning it and believing it, and if you don't believe in, let's say, a value or something that somebody is espousing, then needing to actually say that and do something about it if you don't think it's right"* (Jenny). Jason describes a statement from a character from The Simpsons that he lived by, a sort of overarching priority: *"Mrs. Flanders. The one thing that she always says is, "Won't somebody think of the children?" That is always in my mind. Anything that comes along. Won't somebody think of the children? I've stood by that because I think children have that right to have somebody who will think of them and will put their best interests and needs first before anything else and somebody who's prepared to stand up for them and be their advocate"*.

Millennials (those born between 1981 and 1996) may be shaping organisations by their expectations of leaders: *"Probably back in my day, so I'm a late baby boomer, I don't think we had the vocabulary to talk about this stuff in this way, but you know when I look at the*

millennials joining our organisation now, there is an expectation that there will be a strong moral compass in leadership. I think organisations that don't understand that and respond to that will over time find that they've become less attractive employers for graduates etc., and the business performance will start to be impacted as a result" (Lena).

3.3 Relationship Skills

Participants, in describing the qualities of leadership role models who had been important to them described their ability to build relationships: *"There was another chap who was brilliant at relationships. An almost instant rapport, he would find a connection point with an individual that he was meeting for the first time that could be as random as he used to live in the same town as they live in, or they both support the same, whatever it might be, and they were able to really rapidly build deep and meaningful relationships from a business context, from that base. I learned a lot about relationships and so on from him"* (Lena).
Relationships appear to facilitate the work of leaders in order to *"balance between a leader needing to be somebody who steps out, demonstrating what the future would look like, create a compelling vision of the future, have the right sort of relationships to manage that"* (Jenny).

4.0 Minority Leadership

This theme broadly refers to what minority leaders needed to succeed in getting to a leadership position or what they bring to leadership. Noticeable in the interviews was the participants' description of their determination when met with resistance and also that they were able to utilise their experiences and their minority status a source of differentiation.

4.1 Determination

Something I observed in all of the participants (both during the interview and in analysing the data) was a certain single-mindedness or determination in the face of resistance. As Jason describes the response to his work in diversity: *"The kind of the flack that I take from doing*

that work, a lot of people don't actually see…it kind of makes me more bloody minded. We're doing this and we're doing the right thing. Also, it makes me kind of more determined that what we are actually doing is changing perceptions and people find that hard, but there's no reason why we should stop doing it". His own experience had informed his decision to lead on diversity work in school but so had his sheer determination to prove people wrong: *"It's like black athletes or even black people in teaching or business or whatever. We have to go that extra mile to prove ourselves ... certainly that drives me. Certainly, so people can't turn around and say, "Oh he's crap, it's because he's gay."* (Jason). Angela describes her response to resistance: *"It's like there's a part of them that's afraid they're going to go 'puff' overnight and vanish and there will be a whole league of black female managers taking over the place. I tend to listen, and hear what it is they are trying to say. If there's something I think that's valid in what they are trying to say then I'll take it on. Otherwise, I'll just ... where the single-mindedness comes in - I've got a job to do I'm going to do it. Are you going to help me? No, then I'll find somebody else who will help me to do what needs to be done. That's how I do things"*. In suggesting advice for other women, Jenny says: *"It is about self-confidence. So do things and practise becoming more self-confident and learn to when people start speaking over you, just raise your voice and carry on and start feeling confident. Just beat them back because actually you do have to learn to beat them back a bit"*.

4.2 Differentiation and strength

Whilst participants may have experienced discrimination and or other forms of resistance, they seem to draw upon their experiences and their differences as a source of differentiation and even strength: Jason says: *"This final teaching practice my teacher had told the Head teacher that I was gay and hadn't informed me. As if it should be some dirty little secret. Having gone through all that, I'm going to be bloody positive. Why shouldn't I be?"*. Jason turned his experience into something positive and is now driving the diversity agenda at his school: *"Having experienced all that really confirmed to me that I'm doing the right thing. That I am being positive and out and whatever. If I can be a role model for any kid who is just perceived as being different or who does identify as LGB in the future, I will have achieved some kind of level of satisfaction"*. Similarly Angela's ethnicity and gender were

differentiators: *"You bring a different point of view, a different way of seeing things, a different perspective on how to do something. Especially in print (it) is such a male dominated industry. You literally will get guys who don't want to know what you think because you are a woman. What can you know?"*. A different perspective and tone was cited by other women participants: *"Most senior leadership I've worked with is it always seems quite macho, aggressive…and the best women I've seen in those situations do tend to play along with it a bit but equally, maybe bring a bit more balance in and a bit more strive for a more measured tone"* (Jenny).

Being part of a minority can bring an understanding of other minorities' experiences: *"I think what I bring to the job being gay is an understanding. As I've said in interviews several times, when you get that interview question about minority groups, I always say, "I'm a member of a minority group myself. I know how it feels to be discriminated against". Of course, I'm painfully aware of how people feel and I'd like to think that I bring that to the job."* (Jason).

5.0 Majority Leaders

The influence of majority leaders in creating the environment that minority leaders experience and their awareness of that influence was highlighted. *"They don't realise that the kind of environment they are inadvertently creating. In my experience, there aren't that many men who deliberately go out of their way to exclude women or exclude ethnic minorities or whatever. It's all quite inadvertent. It can be quite shocking for them when it's pointed out" (*Lena). In Angela's organisation referral hiring was introduced by the Managing Director who told his managers to bring in people they thought 'would be good'. Often an effective (and cost effective) way of hiring, it had the effect of reducing the diversity of the workforce. She says: *"Of course they all hired their friends…and you look around and think-hmm, suddenly it's gone from quite multicultural, very mixed here to everyone looks like they're from Essex…Literally these guys came from maybe a square mile"*. This has implications for referral hiring for minorities where, as stated earlier, structural holes

between white employers (or referrers) and non-white job seekers can lead to discriminatory hiring practices.

Participants believed that diversity training was important. It was considered specifically beneficial for senior leaders so that they could develop the awareness of their impact as well as some understanding about the experience of minorities. Training should also prepare senior leaders and other key stakeholders to support minority leaders: *"Knowing that you're going to be supported .... having the Head behind me. If I was a Head teacher and doing that, making sure the Governors were trained. There's always got to be a cushion"* (Jason).

6.0 Networks

Networks provide a space for 'Good faith' conversations to take place and for minorities to be able to discuss challenges and strategies. Networks might also provide roles models where they are in short supply: *"Sometimes, I think, maybe if you are looking for leaders who are role models, there aren't many here. You might have to look across the pond to the States, to find ... other black female leaders in ... someone who people look up to or get ideas from"* (Angela). Jack explains: *"I haven't really had senior role models ever in my career to emulate…I think the existence of a network would have helped me right at the beginning of my career, to have actually have something to join or something to go along to, but there wasn't anything at all like that"*.

Networking as an activity was recommended. Lena provides the following advice: *"I would definitely say that do not underestimate the power of networks and actually be really mindful and thoughtful about how you build your networks and who's in your networks and how you leverage those networks. It's all well and fine to have your pocketbooks full of 200 names, but you have to be prepared to reach out for help, to ask for help, and to give help….be proactive with your networks, rather than passive with your networks"*.

7.0 Voice

Voice was an interesting theme that emerged, specifically for women. Women's voices sound different and there is a suggestion that men do lot listen to women in the way that they might to men. *"The magic of 30% is so important so you can get a few more of those voices in the room so they sound less unusual. But I also think there's a responsibility to the extent that there are other women in the room. We need to be better at supporting one another. So if we see, let's say there's two women in the room, and we observe the other woman being ignored or whatever it might be, I think it's incumbent on us to just pause the meeting and say hang on a minute, can we wait to hear about what she's got to say, because I'm really interested in that. I don't think we do enough of that either, just generalising as women"* (Lena). Jenny, in describing successful women stated: *"They tend all to be people who have lower voice tone, speak more slowly, and I think a lot of us teach ourselves to pick that up and start doing it more specifically. There was actually a very interesting article on Radio 4 about it a few months ago where they talked about how people at Mothercare had voice coaches to lower their voices"*. Whether women should to change the way in which they speak in order to be heard is a matter of debate but I will return to this theme later.

8.0 Being Out at Work

Disclosing one's sexuality at work and the consequences of doing so were discussed by participants. LGB leaders find themselves in work situations where they have to decide whether to 'come out' or not and, in situations where they do not, may struggle to resolve that decision with their own authenticity as a leader.

8.1 Fear of Disclosure

Senior LGB leaders may struggle with the challenges of coming out at work. Due to the presumption of heterosexuality, coming out is not a 'one off' but something that LGB leaders may have to do continually. Lena described her dilemma: *"Is this going to provoke some kind of awkward response? I struggled with this internally, if you will, for years. I've now started to talk about it quite openly, and have found myself surrounded by hundreds of other people who feel the same"*. The impact of coming out on one's career is a concern: *"There are people who are not out in the office, but then that's for a myriad of reasons,*

whether it's because of family issues or partnerships or people being worried around their seniority, if they're at a key point in their careers. "Is this going to affect my promotion?", et cetera. I think those fears are still there" (Jack). Interactions with clients and other business situations need some thinking though before LGB leaders decide to come out: *"Every time you meet someone you need to decide whether you're going to come out… I think people have developed their own, and you and I developed our own thinking around, "Am I going to come out to this person if it's in a business situation?" You know whether it's going to go down well or not, or whether it's something that is even a topic for discussion"* (Jack).

8.2 Authenticity

Inevitably the decision about whether to be out or not is accompanied by concerns about authenticity: *"From time to time, I still find myself in situations where I have to make a choice about whether or not to come out. In the cases where somebody says "Are you married?" or "What's your husband do?" "Do you have children?" whatever the innocuous question is, in a split second, I make a decision of whether or not this relationship is worth investing in for having an open and honest conversation, or is it going to be too disruptive and is it actually really unimportant so I'm not going to bother to correct them, I'm just going to pass it off. When I do pass it off, I do worry about the authenticity aspect, and I haven't quite reconciled to myself whether or not that is a problem from an authenticity perspective. I just don't know, but it worries me"* (Lena). Interestingly the decision not to come out may have implications for relationships including client relationships: *"It doesn't make them question the legal advice, but it does make them think about, "Do I want to work with this person if I'm up against a blank wall socially?" We spend so much time with clients, whether it's socialising or networking or in meetings. If they don't feel they can trust you or you're holding something back from them, then they'll go and talk to another lawyer"* (Jack).

I found the interviews to be extremely valuable not just for the data they provided but for the opportunity to engage directly with participants and their stories. I was deeply touched by their openness and generosity.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The results from the survey show that despite many years of legislation and diversity efforts, some Women, BME and LGB employees still face difficulty attaining leadership positions and once there, experience resistance. Experiences outlined by participants suggest that minority leaders range from outright discrimination to more subtle forms of prejudice. In order to address the challenges minority leaders face, eight themes were identified:

1. Mentoring
2. Development
3. Training for Managers
4. Selection
5. Leadership Model
6. Confidence
7. Networking
8. Role Models

Clearly much of this is already good if not standard practice. Yet decades of work on mentoring programmes, training managers in diversity, development programmes to increase confidence and increasing objectivity in recruitment processes have achieved limited lasting success. Arguably the current need for role models highlighted by participants might be explained, in part, by the limited effectiveness of the other interventions. Participants did not specifically recommend women only, BME only, LGB only leadership development programmes but did recommend that programmes had a *norm-critical perspective***.** Leadership development programmes could be enhanced and more relevant if they encouraged all leaders to critically reflect on the role that gender, ethnicity and sexuality play in organisation life as well as the role leaders play in creating an environment which gets the best from everyone.

Interestingly, the survey highlighted the lack of clear leadership models in the organisations in which participants worked. Prescriptions of what leaders do might be based on what

leaders are, yet throughout the survey participants' responses suggested a lack of clarity about both what leadership was and what its functions were. This raised the question about whether more clearly defined expectations about leadership, or indeed alternative definitions, might go some way to addressing the diversity challenge. Would greater clarity about what leadership was, what leaders actually do and the paths to move into leadership mean that minority employees could more easily navigate organisational hierarchies and manage their development more effectively? Clear leadership definitions and practice should also form the basis for determining outcomes of leadership development. Development was often experiential: "*It is experiential. Being put in situations where you have the chance to fail makes you stronger and knowing that there is someone who has your back allows you to take those chances"* – Respondent 39, who is a Caucasian Heterosexual Woman..

Whilst no single definition of leadership is likely to meet the requirements of all situations or work environments, minority leaders may struggle against a dominant leadership paradigm which marginalises them. This may be especially true in organisations where leadership is determined by seniority and length of service. Senior management support to grow leaders is important as they understand the requirements of leadership but the lack of senior minority leaders is problematic: "*Generally, having support from senior managers is critical to moving up as they will have a good idea of what is required. I have never had that type of support from a person that was from an ethnic background. I think that is because we just do not have many senior BME managers"* says Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Aisan Woman. There are broader organisational and structural barriers (such as lack of diversity on interview panels) with which minority leaders also have to contend.

Participants looked to senior leaders to support diversity, "*An actual declaration from senior leadership"* – Respondent 42, a Gay Man - suggesting that top management beliefs are critical determinants of organisational policies and practices (Dutton and Ashford 1993). Like other forms of organisational change, changes related to diversity are likely to fail without senior management 'buy in' and visible support. It might be inferred that there is a competence required in leaders to be able to create inclusive environments that leverage

diversity and perhaps this requirement could inform more contemporary leadership paradigms.

Following the examination of the results through thematic analysis, the data was reviewed again through the lens of practice theory with two aims: first to see if practice theory could uncover other learnings from the data and second, to see if the research data could be used enlighten practice theory.

Female Leaders' Experience

Speaking While Female

Women in the study highlighted some of the challenges of speaking while female; being talked over and find the confidence to speak. I recall a leadership forum I convened in Moscow for the executive committee of a bank I worked for at which I arranged for a business school professor to speak. During the discussions, I noticed that every time a woman in the room spoke she was either interrupted or men broke into side conversations. I pointed this out to the team; the men were surprised and apologetic but the women did not react at all. The women had become accustomed to that behaviour in the executive committee.

Men and women have different voices; men's voices are deeper and their physicality allows for greater resonance. Men may unconsciously recognise the authority their voices provide. Women however, may be socialised differently in terms of how they use their voices. Patsy Rodenburg is a vocal coach to the Royal Shakespeare company, the National Theatre and the Guildhall School of Speech and Drama. "Women gossip and perform domestic tasks. They are not expected to speak about important issues, to have opinions or to rule; at least not to do any of these in public" states Rodenburg in her book 'The Right to Speak' (Rodenburg 1992:76). She also finds that women are more physically closed, learning to reduce the space they occupy.

The combination of physical and social conditioning may constrict women's voices and their right to speak. As Jenny explains: "*You learn to speak with more force or be more specific, and maybe that's something we all have to learn to do as we move into more senior positions. I would say women who are successful ... You don't see very many successful women who have what I think a large portion of the female population has, which is speak high pitch and quite quickly. They tend all to be people who have lower voice tone, speak*

more slowly, and I think a lot of us teach ourselves to pick that up and start doing it more specifically".

The way we speak is one of the ways in which we carry identity. This may be true not just of the way voice carries gender identity but other identities such as class, race and nationality for example. Our voices enable our brains to determine various factors about a person including gender, size and age without having to see them. A study by scientists at the University of Sheffield found significant differences in the way the brain 'hears' male versus female voices with male voice activating part of the back of the brain and female voices causing activity in the auditory section of the brain. In men "the neuroperceptual factors which allow attribution of gender to heard speech include those brain areas involved in interpreting intonation (melodic quality) of speech for female voice identification and those involved in mental imagery for perceiving a speaker as male" (Sokhi et al 2005:577). In other words, men process women's voices using the more complex auditory part of brain that processes music perhaps due to women having more natural 'melody' in their voices. Women create a more complex range of sound frequencies due to the size and shape of their vocal cords and larynx. It may be that due to the areas of the brain needed to process women's voices, men actually have to work harder to hear them.

As such female participants were modifying their voices in order to be heard. Recognising that they do have to work harder to be heard they made conscious efforts to speak more slowly. Jenny describes coaching a more junior woman: "*If I look at those two in our legal team, xxx is really bubbly, really good at what she does, but really bubbly can be very quick. I've just given xxx some feedback. She shouldn't have to change herself, but there is something about speaking a bit more slowly to get a bit more gravitas so that when you're in the meetings people listen to you more and don't talk over you because I think there is a thing about the way we talk, particularly if we start rattling on that people will ... that men do talk over us"*.

A study by a Yale psychologist, Victoria Brescoll (2011) found that male senators with more power spoke more on the Senate floor than their junior colleagues but for female senators, power was not associated with more speaking time. For men, power may provide a licence to speak more in organisations. Brescoll's study found that power had a strong, positive effect on volubility for men, but not so for women. Women's concerns that talking too much would result in negative consequences were correct; in the study, they were given lower ratings of competence. Interestingly women who were more voluble were rated as less competent in the study by other women suggesting that women share beliefs about existing gender hierarchies. The reasons that power differentially impacts speaking time for men and women, may be a result of different prescriptions for men and women's speaking behaviour; men's speaking behaviour may reflect hierarchical relationships and dominance whereas women's speaking behaviour may be driven by their concerns with establishing rapport with others and because of concerns about the potential backlash if they talk too much. Perhaps this is something that can provide insights into the experiences of other minorities who may also have different speaking behaviour. Executive coach Florence explains: *"If you're different and you say things in a way that's different, because you're gay or because you're Chinese or because you're a woman or whatever it might happen to be, if you say things in a way that are different you will learn how to fit in with the way everybody else wants you to say things, or you will not really be heard, and somebody will tell you. They'll say, "You don't really have influencing skills. We'll get you some coaching." I'm summarising lots of different experiences and characterising it in that way, but I would say that's a prevailing wind".*

It may be harder for women to maintain their confidence when they are not heard and when they cannot speak as much; they have to think more carefully about what they say and how they say it. However, there is additional cognitive effort involved when women have to consciously slow down and think about being more succinct and this in turn has consequences. This may mean they actually miss out on speaking. Jenny says: "*You need to find a way to get your point across. The problem is, though, I think lots of women already know that, and so you get the side of the problem which is women trying to think and work out what to say so they can get their point across really carefully and therefore don't say*

things in meetings either. So you tend to get a very, very competent woman who speaks up and who I think is very good at ... obviously, it's her job, but she's very good at summarising points and being very articulate. So she will often talk in meetings I go to, but lots of other women don't here. I talk to some of them afterwards and they'll say, "Well, I wanted to talk about this, but I'm still trying to work out what the point was that I wanted to make and how to say it.".

Increasing the number of women in leadership roles will mean that both men and women will become more accustomed to the way which women contribute and lead and that their voices become less idiosyncratic. Lena says: "*The magic of 30% is so important so you can get a few more of those voices in the room so they sound less unusual. But I also think there's a responsibility to the extent that there are other women in the room. We need to be better at supporting one another. So if we see, let's say there's two women in the room, and we observe the other woman being ignored or whatever it might be, I think it's incumbent on us to just pause the meeting and say hang on a minute, can we wait to hear about what she's got to say, because I'm really interested in that, I don't think we do enough of that either".*

However, increasing the number of female leaders is unlikely to happen quickly and so organisations need to find creative ways of interrupting these gender biases; some organisations use a 'no interrupting' rule for example. Jenny advises women to simply keep talking when talked over: "*I've had that here, where people start speaking over you, actually in quite a few places. When people start speaking over you, just raise your voice and carry on and start feeling confident. Just beat them back because actually you do have to learn to beat them back a bit".*

Given that current leadership thinking emphasises empowering and collaborative leadership styles over dominating, command and control behaviours, is there an untapped female advantage that could be leveraged from women's speaking behaviours? "*I've seen women leaders who don't bring anything different by being female, but the best female leaders I've*

seen have been individuals who maybe just bring a slightly different tone with them, usually a bit more ... can be more balanced. Most senior leadership I've worked with is it always seems quite macho, aggressive, quite "We've got to get things done," quite gung-ho, and the best women I've seen in those situations do tend to play along with it a bit but equally, maybe bring a bit more balance in and a bit more strive for a more measured tone, I would say. I think women also do bring in ... Maybe this is being too general, but I do think women bring in this idea of being able to look at multiple things. They don't tend to fixate on one thing as much and so tend to have a maybe more broad view on things" says Jenny.

The example below, which is only one participant's experience, demonstrates the extent and types of opposition that women face in leadership positions:

So Much Opposition

So much opposition! The background is that I was promoted to the Country Director position of a landmine charity in (name of country). (Name of country) being a Muslim, conservative country, and (name of organisation), being heavily alpha male dominated, posed significant challenges to someone of my age and gender. Here are some of the headlines: Serious sexual harassment: During contract negotiations with the United Nations, I was arguing about a particular budget line and the senior UN negotiator told me he'd concede if I performed certain sexual acts. This in front of my two male line managers, who sat silently. At a social occasion hosted by UN colleagues, which I felt under pressure to attend, a senior manager grabbed hold of me and attempted to be 'intimate' and I had to physically wrestle away, leaving my cardigan in his hands, I had to run to safety... then work with him the next day. I raised the issue with my HQ who were very unsupportive. In East (name of country), I was told that I could not speak in any of the meetings that I attended. To which I replied that my teams could not operate in an area where I could not have management control. Several of the men under my line management could not initially take instruction or guidance from me, one became very violent and broke his foot kicking a wall when I challenged his performance. At a meeting with the global leadership team, when a female raised an issue of gender sensitivity in the workplace, a man replied: The women just

> *need to man-up. That was considered to be a fair answer and the meeting moved on to more important matters The list goes on…* Respondent 78, a White Heterosexual Woman.

Whilst her setting may be less common, her experiences are not and were echoed by other women who participated in the research. As Respondent 11, an Irish Heterosexual Woman says : "*Men found it often difficult & my pay was also significantly less than males in less difficult jobs. Undermining or taking glory for my success was often the case".* As women progress through their careers so they faced more opposition; this may be explained in two ways; one ideas about how women ought to be and behave are inconsistent with ideas about how leaders ought to be and behave, and because women are entering a domain (management) which is gender-typed as male: *"Interestingly, the challenge is different now. I think that is actually harder now that people are more aware of my credentials as a leader - when I was 'new' I presented no threat*" – Respondent 15 a Heterosexual Woman.

Evidence suggests that women who are successful in work that is typically male gender-typed, may experience negative reactions and opposition (Heilman 2001). Gender stereotyping may have implications for leadership with ideas about female gender roles and leadership roles being contradictory. Those qualities generally believed to be necessary for leadership success such as assertiveness and ambition are also more commonly associated with men. This may be because sex stereotypes are highly prescriptive and for women dictate that they should exhibit nurturing, sympathetic and understanding behaviours (communality) whilst competitiveness and achievement orientation are considered incompatible with prescribed feminine behaviours (Heilman and Okimoto 2007). Women face expectations about leadership that have been shaped by men (Eagly 2007). *"I am generally a talkative and a very direct person. However at times I feel that being more quiet would work better. Same thing with being direct. I often get the feeling (based on performance reviews) that I'd been seen differently or handled differently if I was a man"* – Respondent 19, a White Heterosexual Woman. So while men may benefit from agentic behaviours such as being independent, assertive and directive, women do not. The negative and career-hindering consequences that women experience may be a consequence of

violating these gender stereotypes (Hellman et al 2004). Negative reactions and opposition experienced by participants ranged from general attitudes: "*Overall it has mainly general attitude challenges for being young and a woman. I have always until this/last year been the youngest or one of the youngest at my level"* (Respondent 19, a Heterosexual Woman) to outright hostility: "*I was one of two team leaders and was chosen over my colleague for promotion. He reacted very badly and was overtly hostile in the office"* (Respondent 15 a Heterosexual Woman. The perceived incongruity between the female gender role and the role of a leader may also explain the difficulties women have in even attaining a leadership position. Double standards may apply where a task, in this case leadership, is perceived to be male (Foschi 2000).

Interestingly Heilman and Okimoto (2007) state that women who have been successful in a male domain suffer penalties irrespective of whether they have exhibited behaviour which violates gender-stereotypes and that much of the research supporting this idea concerns women in leadership positions. Management is gender-typed as male (Schein et al 1996) establishing management or leadership as a male domain. Respondent 72, a Heterosexual Woman says: "*I've had more opposition later as I've moved into more senior roles, I have felt at times there is a hostility towards a woman being quite assertive and proactive - where there isn't towards a comparable male colleague behaving in the same way"*. However, Heilman and Okimoto hypothesised that women suffer not from their agentic behaviour but because they are perceived to demonstrate a lack of communality. Their research found not only this hypothesis to be true but that provision of information about a woman's communality could mitigate negative reactions to her success. However, her communality needed to be a reflection of who she is as opposed to behaviours that she might demonstrated in order to be compliant with her working environment. Specifically, they found that motherhood can actually be an advantage, creating the perception of her as communal and eliminating negative perceptions. This is a surprising finding given that motherhood often has a detrimental effect on women's careers (the 'motherhood penalty') even in professions which are gender-typed as female, such as nursing (McIntosh et al 2012). It should be noted however, that although providing evidence of women's communal behaviours might lesson

the sanction they face, it does not remove them altogether, nor does the lessening of those sanctions do anything to support career progression.

The leader as mother

It is worth exploring this idea of 'mother' in the context of women and leadership. Jenny described her experience of being referred to as a 'mother' of her team: "*Somebody used the word 'mother' in relation to me, and I literally wanted to strangle them. There are two things that really gets me going about is one, it seems to indicate that I'm not about being a leader but somehow being a parent, which is not appropriate. Secondly, it's gender, obviously. That doesn't get me too much, but the worst one about it is actually age. It's quite ageist as well coming from an organisation like this".* Jenny describes a situation in which the word mother was used positively yet her reaction is justifiably one of irritation. It may be that managers and/or their subordinates unconsciously re-enact their experiences of the dynamics of a parent and child: "As authority figures, leaders fit easily into the subconscious imagery of a parental role. Followers very commonly manifest transference reactions through the idealisation of their leaders" (Kets de Vries and Korotov 2007:8). Idealising leaders may provide a sense of security in difficult times in much the same way that idealising our parents offers a sense of protection when we are young and fragile. "In the normal course of development, we internalize the idealised parental figure, recreating an internal sense of power and security" (Kets de Vries and Korotov 2007:8). But why does the term 'Mother' have such a negative connotation and why was it applied to a woman when it is highly unlikely that a male would be referred to as father in the workplace? Bourdieu's model incorporates metaphors of cultural capital; 'mother' is a metaphor but what does the mother symbolise in the context of leadership? Could it be that the idealised mother, nurturing and caring, qualities that are arguably a premium in most workplaces (but less valued) play a part? When women are leaders it might be assumed that they possess these characteristics or indeed even an invitation for them behave in a motherly way. It may also be a subtle and even unconscious way of putting a woman in her place as a leader.

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

Dominant leadership literature now tends to split leadership and management. Leadership is categorised as heroic, visionary, outward facing and directional but management is denigrated or at least subordinated to an inward facing administrative function. Leadership is sexy. Management is routine. However, management activities (planning, organising, structuring) are the things that contain the organisation – the traditional family can be seen like this. The mother is the manager for that part of the function. The mother is a powerful figure but she is also a figure which evokes a negative response because she represents control, rendering others dependent. In a stereotypically idealised family with a mother, a father and two children, it is the charismatic father that goes out to work (outward facing) and the mother who takes care of the home and the children (inward facing), providing routine and safety. 'Management' is routine but carries with it the tasks that contain the organisation and provide a sense of stability. Perhaps the mother is the manager for that part of the organisation, undertaking an acceptable role in holding together the administrative apparatus; a figure of authority undoubtedly, but not the 'father'. She is a supervisor but not a leader. Perhaps the references to female leaders as 'mother' is further evidence that gender roles are carried into organisations in part because of the background identity that habitus provides. Paradoxically whilst being an actual mother might help women in relation to mitigating negative reactions to her, employees' gendered leadership expectations that she should be a mother at work are diminishing even if at some level, they speak to the needs of employees for more nurturing and caring leadership behaviours; behaviours which are widely advocated by leadership thinkers.

Fifty-five per cent of respondents identified work-life balance as an obstacle to their careers with all the women who responded to the questions citing work life balance as one of the obstacles to their careers. Women's and men's attitudes to home and working life are changing (Ozbilgin et al 2010) and the male, uninterrupted full-time work model is being challenged as men choose to share breadwinning and care responsibility or even stay at home. Men are rejecting both work and family schemas, and seeking other sources of self-realisation and meaning beyond work (Halrynjo 2009). Ironically, it could be organisational attention paid to the desires of men for alternatives to the dominant career model that might improve the disadvantaged position of women.

The business case for diversity has often emphasised the cost of non-compliance. High profile tribunal cases make a compelling case for diversity but have done nothing to help managers reconcile the need to make profits with, for example, flexible working. More helpfully, data from organisations like McKinsey (2010) shows direct links between the presence of a significant number of women on boards and financial performance. Companies with the highest levels of gender diversity at the top of their organisation outperform their sector in terms of operating profit, return on equity, and share price growth. Although the focus on women on boards may not directly help women in low-level and low-paid jobs it does create precedent which Sealy and Singh (2006) suggest may be valuable to both men and women in challenging their ideas about gender in the workplace. Women may also bring objectivity into the workplace. Their subordinate status means that are likely to hold clear and more honest views of the organisation, perhaps in part explaining why women on boards may reduce risk-taking behaviour: "A representation of reality from the standpoint of women is more objective and unbiased than the prevailing representations that reflect the standpoint of men" (Jaggar 2004:62).

Practice Theory and Gender

Bourdieu's concept of capital offers a way of understanding how inequalities experienced by women are produced. Further Bourdieu's identification of multiple forms of capital may provide a useful model to explain the complexities of the role of gender in the workplace. Gender is an important principle in social structuring and male domination is so entrenched in workplace practices and our unconscious that we hardly notice it. Male domination is a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 2001) and it is deeply embodied; habitus explains the ways in which gender inequalities are constructed and persist in society and in the workplace. Habitus is gendered; as Bourdieu states: "The social order functions as an immense symbolic machine tending to ratify the masculine domination on which it is founded: it is the sexual division of labour" (Bourdieu 2001:9). Arguably by examining the feminine and masculine habitus, the nature of the structuring, the places that men and women occupy, as

well as the nature of capital possessed by men and women, we might reveal the real hidden barriers women may face.

We may learn and internalise some gender-appropriate ways of behaving from childhood. As a man who has a twin sister, I recall that we were given gender-appropriate toys (which we did not stick to), separated into gender-appropriate sports at school, and encouraged to select gender-appropriate subjects at school. My sister was discouraged by the careers advisor from choosing a profession that she wanted (a doctor) and so did not select the correct sciences she needed for medical school. She did not enter further education with the correct educational capital because as a girl, she was not expected to make that career choice. Our experience is not unique but typical of the experiences of boys and girls contemporary with us at that time and in that social class.

Whilst there are clear biological differences between men and women, no biological explanation supports the career segregation between men and women or the lack of women in leadership positions. What gender may do is to make the social construction of gender differences appear 'normal'. That is, gender masks the power relations between the genders which are a product of habitus; they are socially produced and have become part of the workplace *doxa.* Whilst we should not ignore gender and what it means as a biological construct, thinking about gender as an identity means that we can explore the structures, inequalities and forces which facilitate men's progression as leaders over women. This may also help us to understand and extend gendered ideas about leadership and success.

Gender influences social capital. Both men and women bring capital to the workplace (the field) which is subsequently structured based on that capital. The capital men bring provides them with access to networks where power resides; the dominant coalition is which largely male. Women on the other hand may bring a different capital. They are seen to provide a nurturing and supportive role. What the data reveals is that male capital is prioritised over women's capital. What is particularly striking about the experiences of the

female participants is how pervasive those experiences are. They describe experiences with which they contend but which appear to have been unchallenged by others. For example the Respondent 78, a Heterosexual Woman who states: "*I was arguing about a particular budget line and the senior UN negotiator told me he'd concede if I performed certain sexual acts. This in front of my two male line managers, who sat silently*" provides an example of sexual harassment that appears, in black and white, shocking, but clearly not shocking enough for her managers to act. It is this quiet acceptance of everydayness of sexism and sexual harassment that reveals something of the nature of the relationship between the sexes in the workplace.

In this example, we see that the field in which the participant is located has changed more rapidly that the habitus of the men around her which is more durable. She is obviously in an important leadership role and has achieved a desirable field position but the men around her still operate from a time when women could expected be treated as sex objects during the course of work. Despite how startling anachronistic their behaviour may appear, it may in fact be the disruption of their habitus by her field position that has invoked their behaviour, acting in a way that might have been designed (consciously or unconsciously) to humiliate her and put her back in her place. Yet there is something here about the kinds of capital that she possesses; she has something that the senior UN negotiator wants: her capital is assumed to be sexual. Hakim (2010) argues for the inclusion of erotic capital as an extension of Bourdieu's theory; in an increasingly sexualised modern society she says, physical attractiveness and sexuality are power assets and perhaps a hidden factor in enhancing success in all jobs. Erotic capital is increasingly important in labour markets as well as everyday social interaction and that women are likely to have more erotic capital than men as they work harder at it. "Women do not have a monopoly of erotic power. However, they have more erotic capital than men, and this gives them a significant potential advantage in negotiations with men" (Hakim 2010:505).

Capital is central to Bourdieu's construction of social spaces but Bourdieu did not specifically consider gender a form of capital, utilising his conceptualisation of capital as a strand of class

theory. His theory of cultural capital is intended to account for the persistence of class hierarchies but it is not difficult to see how it can also account for the persistence of gender hierarchies in the workplace. Bourdieu did note that "certain women derive occupational profit from their charm(s), and that beauty thus acquires a value on the labor market" (Bourdieu 1986:152) although his work on gender is somewhat ambivalent and tended to view women more as contributors to men's capital rather than accumulators of their own capital. His theoretical apparatus is useful, however, in understanding the gender stratification of the workplace and thus illuminating female leaders' experience; habitus provides facility to examine structure and principles of gender division. Further, examining the gendering of the field reveals something of an explanation for female leaders' experience. In common with the findings of this and existing research, for example, Bourdieu finds that women experience a double disadvantage: "if they behave like men, they risk losing the obligatory attributes of 'femininity' and call into question the natural right of men to the positions of power; if they behave like women, they appear incapable and unfit for the job" (Bourdieu 2001:67). Habitus teaches us to know our place in the world and it is historically informed. It would be hard, as Bourdieu's theoretical framework might require, to consider gender pre-reflexive and unconscious, as this does not take into account the continuous reinforcement of femininity on a daily basis either through advertising and media, treatment at work or the everyday sexism that women may experience.

In the context of organisational life men lead and women support, and women who disrupt this order of things, the habitus, face opposition. This tacit "sense of place" we have for ourselves and for others is a feature of habitus and may explain that lack of senior management impetus to make change. Executive coach Maureen says: *"I wonder about that in the context of recruiting more diverse people to leadership levels, where the leaders would say to you, "We just don't get the applicants. Those people aren't around." I wonder how much we unconsciously don't invite those people to be around, and that's why they're not around. Do you see what I mean?"*.

Gender is "extraordinarily relational, with a chameleon-like flexibility, shifting in importance, value and effects from context to context or from field to field" (Adkins 2004:6). This prompts the questions 'What is the role of gender in the workplace?' and 'What is nature of the power of women in the workplace?'. Bourdieu viewed differences between the sexes as a result of biological factors: "Gender as an organising principle is not given systematic treatment throughout Bourdieu's work because gender division is seen as universal and natural" (McCall 1992:851). Biology alone cannot account for the difference in career choices between men and women or indeed the study options between boys and girls. If the divisions between men and women were purely biological, then arguably existing equality and pay legislation would have been effective. Some feminist scholars argue that there are female forms of capital (Skeggs 1997). Skeggs states that femininity is both embodied and learned and so may function as a form of capital. Femininity is also a combination of practices and appearance. This feminine capital may be misinterpreted or viewed negatively: *"There are many who did not like to see women in leadership roles. They believed we go to leadership by sleeping our way to the top"* Respondent 39, a Heterosexual Woman. Gender crosses all forms of Bourdieu's capital (Economic, Cultural and Social) and may influence the way in which these forms of capital are accumulated and made manifest. How a girl is socialised has repercussions throughout her future. Her gendered habitus may mean that she makes choices in both education and careers that are considered appropriate thus reproducing the system and its hierarchy and by behaving, dressing, talking and censoring herself in order to be 'appropriate' she may also transmit a gender identity to others including her own children. Leaders, both male and female, may consider reflecting on what they transmit to others and to their children. Florence says: "*I think it starts with mothers. If you bring your children up to have an expectation that that's what life will hold, that is going to be fulfilled. We learn our scripts long before we're able to process anything logically. It kind of starts with women themselves. If you want your gay children or your female children or your children who are different from the culture in which you're now living… you have to teach them how to not become more like the people that they want to work with, but become more accepting of the whole thing. That all of people's different attitudes and experiences make up the richness that is a diverse community, and you have to decide what you want for yourself, not determined by what you look like or sound like or where you've come from or anything else about you, but just by the value of the*

contribution that you want to make, and being in service of perhaps the organisation, and in service of the joy that is life….It is about the moment and the relationship that you create in that moment, and how you can influence that".

The reproductive nature of habitus may be involved in maintaining men's positions but also in suppressing feminine capital. "As long as men remain in the majority in the top ranks of management, the masculine leadership stereotype is likely to prevail, and women throughout the organisation will be expected to behave like men. Thus, a masculine stereotype of the good manager is self-reinforcing and inhibits the expression of femininity by women in management positions" (Powell and Graves 2003:139). Whilst increasing the number of women is a structural change structures this may also have an impact on dispositions. An increase in women in leadership positions may have its own reproductive effect as well as making feminine capital less idiosyncratic. Thirty per cent is widely considered an important benchmark for women's representation and has led to the formation of organisations like the 30 per cent club (www.30percentclub.org). Legislative quotas do not exist for women in leadership positions in the UK, but have been successful in Norway in increasing representation on board level, with limited success further down companies where pay imbalances have widened (Catalyst 2015). However, they are likely to be helpful as a catalyst for systemic change at all levels of management, rather than as an organisational quick fix for gender imbalances. The presence of more significant numbers of women in leadership positions at the top of organisations may have an impact on women at the early stages of their careers in terms of modifying their expectations of what is possible, their habitus, as well as the structure of the organisations that they join.

Black and Minority Ethnic Leaders' Experience

Existing research suggests that black leaders are not evaluated comparably to white leaders and that BME employees may be placed at disadvantage by stereotypes which suggest they are less competent than their white counterparts. Carton and Rosette (2011) found that

black leaders suffered from a stereotype of incompetence in the US as they were perceived to be less competent than white leaders. Interestingly, they found that following a black leader's success, a non-leader attribute was applied, but a leader attribute applied after failure. In order words, if a black leader was successful it was not due to their leadership but another compensatory factor, yet when they failed it was due to a lack of a leadership competence. This has the effect of stereotyping black leaders are incompetent across situations.

According to Carton and Rosette this might explain a lower likelihood of promotion "and ultimately the underrepresentation of blacks in organisational leadership positions" (Carton and Rosette 2011:1141). For participants this creates a situation where they feel they have to work harder to overcome negative perceptions based on their ethnicity. Angela explains: "*It's almost like you have to work that little bit harder, or you have to prove more before people actually think - oh actually no you are intelligent that's why you are here. It's got nothing to do with making up a quota. I think there is (a pressure to perform better). There definitely is in certain areas pressure to have demonstrate more than somebody else might have to"*. Even once they reached a leadership position, they may remain at a disadvantage when they are evaluated as leaders. "*This has been on going and it appears that there is a need to prove ourself on the basis of our colour on an on-going basis"*. – Respondent 13, A Heterosexual Indian Man Man. Whilst this additional pressure may encourage black leaders to work harder, the stress created by marginality may in itself be a constraining factor for black leaders (Bass, 2008).

Leadership Categorisation Theory (Lord and Maher 1991) may explain the experience of BME leaders; beliefs about behaviours and characteristics of leaders develop into leadership categories and subsequently into a leadership prototype. This theory has three distinct components: it describes the internal structure of leadership categories, it shows how properties of these categories facilitate the processing of information such as recalling information about leaders, and finally explains perceptions about leaders in terms of categorization. According to the theory, individuals develop beliefs about the characteristics and behaviours of leaders and these beliefs develop into leadership categories. These

various categories evolve into a leadership prototype against which leaders are appraised. Those leaders whose characteristics are most consistent with the prototype of what an effective leader is, are evaluated most favourably. Those leaders who do not match the prototype are evaluated less favourably. In relation to ethnicity it helps to explain how and why minority ethnic leaders are viewed and evaluated less favourably as they may not fit the prototype of the leader, or indeed simply not 'look like' leadership material. Respondent 14, a Heterosexual British Indian Man says: "*As a BME I some of White colleagues tried to remove me as leader. Two told to my face that they did not want Indian to be leader"*.

Rosette et al (2008) posit that, in addition to racial stereotypes, being White is a central characteristic of leadership and consequently White leaders are more prototypical business leaders than BME leaders and therefore evaluated more favourably. They find that "the cognitive economy afforded by this simplistic evaluative process provides a way to efficiently and perhaps unintentionally evaluate White leaders as more likely to succeed and as more effective than racial minority leaders" (Rosette et al 2008:772). They conclude that there is a White standard against which racial minorities are compared and evaluated.

This has significant implications for the progression of BME leaders; whilst position-based reforms such as diversity training and diverse interview panels may increase the likelihood of BME employees to becoming leaders, once in leadership positions they may not necessarily be evaluated fairly. Further, Rosette et al (2008) cite empirical studies on aversive racism, that have demonstrated consistent bias against racial minorities in non-leadership positions (Aberson & Ettlin 2004; Dovidio & Gaertner 2000). Aversive racism, a less overt form of racism, emerges as a form of prejudice where people justify negative perceptions about BME people on factors other than race. According to a study by Knight et all (2003), people may even use past mistakes of BME leaders to justify negative evaluations of them. Morrison and Von Glinow (1990) find that black employees are not rewarded on the basis of their performance but by a "psychological mind-set of entitlement on the part of the dominant Whites". Black employees' access to resources is much more limited that of whites and black employees "are systematically excluded from advancement except for a few who are

allowed in "threshold" or acceptable positions" (Morrison and Von Glinow 1990:202). This can be explained by Bourdieu's theory; black employees do not have the same cultural and social capital and can therefore only occupy those occupation categories in the field to which they are limited.

I recall working on a positive action programme in the early nineties for a central government department. Part of the research which led to the programme found that black and minority ethnic staff did not know enough about their own histories in order to respond appropriately when the legitimacy of their presence in the UK was challenged by racist or clumsy comments. British history had been written and taught from a white perspective, at considerable cost, leaving BME without the same educational capital as whites; aspects of their history had been omitted leaving them unable defend themselves. So, it is not just participation in education that is a factor in the acquisition of educational capital, but content also. White British norms become the worldview in society and subsequently in organisations. White British benefit from a durable educational capital that creates an expectation about what they can achieve and supports the transition from education to the workplace. For ethnic minority children, education may create not only a false anticipation of the future but also a denial of the systemic disadvantages currently faced by BME employees. Trade Union Congress analysis of the ONS Labour Force Survey 2015 (TUC 2016) found that Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) graduates were two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than their white counterparts. The same analysis found that BAME employees face a pay gap that widens as they achieve more qualifications. BAME people with no qualifications are 1.4 times as likely to be unemployed as white people with no qualifications where BAME people with a degree face twice the unemployment rate of white people with a degree. A conclusion might be that being BAME with a lack of education means that they are objectively fitted to areas of work more commonly filled with people (ethnically) similar to themselves but the acquisition of educational qualifications means that they are negatively sanctioned because the environment they now encounter has few, if any, people like themselves. Habitus creates both a false anticipation of the future but also a denial of the present demographic reality. Whilst the

acquisition of education should in theory facilitate the progression of BAME workers, there is a lag between educational opportunity and the structure of the workplace.

Paradoxically, the education of BME employees serves to adapt their habitus thus creating differences in expectations about what they can achieve, but they remain at a disadvantage because they are now ill-fitted to their objective chances. The legacy of discrimination has not been addressed and BME employees do not operate on a level playing field. The field remains structured in a way that invokes negative consequences for them as they enter and try to progress.

One explanation might be that BME employees lack the same social capital as white employees. As noted earlier a structural hole between white employees and non-white job seekers means that minority job seekers are not necessary captured in referral hiring as part of the potential talent pool to recruitment from. Similarly, BME employees' networks may not necessarily provide them with access to the top of the organisation in order to provide them with sufficient social capital. Wyatt and Sylvester (2015) suggest that this could be because BME employees' relationships networks in workplaces are concentrated at lower organisational levels. Some research suggests that people create network ties with others from a similar ethnicity (Ibarra et al 2005) and so BME employees are disadvantaged when they attempt to progress to leadership positions as they are unable to benefit from network ties with senior leaders: "The result is more impoverished social capital providing limited access to career-related assistance or guidance from senior members" (Wyatt and Sylvester 2015:1245). As Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Asian (Indian) Woman says: *"I have never had that type of support from a person that was from an ethnic background. I think that is because we just do not have many senior BME managers"*.

Wallace argues that "cultural capital is not the sole preserve of a largely white upper and middle class majority" (Wallace 2016:6) and that racial minorities have a non-dominant type of cultural capital. Black cultural capital can be seen in the range of practices and tastes

deployed by black youth in schools in order to “improve their social status in peer networks, legitimise their racial authenticity, and garner recognition in local contexts” (Wallace 2016:6). It is also seen in the way middle class black parents marshal their class resources in order to facilitate social mobility. Further their children work to improve their social and academic performance “and, in so doing, challenge the widespread stigmatisation and homogenisation of black identities in school” (Wallace 2016:9). Perhaps this translates also the workplace; that BME leaders recognise and can work with the dominant social economy but through their persistence and ability to rebound from micro-aggressions actively challenge the notion that cultural capital in the workplace is synonymous with whiteness. Perhaps also BME leaders employ both dominant and non-dominant capital. For example, combining dominant capital such as education and experience, with the creation of support networks, knowledge and application of their own cultural heritage along with the resilience developed through resistance to racism.

The Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Experience

Fear continues to be a significant part of the experience of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual people at work. The fear of repercussions and negative consequences to coming out, such as lack of career progression, was a theme in the responses. Communicating information about partners or relationship status is typically low risk for heterosexuals; this is not necessarily the case for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees. In common with my Masters research (Mullen 2011) this research found that Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees weighed up the risks of disclosure with the need for authenticity. Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees still feel that they have to engage in non-and partial disclosure strategies such as passing as straight or avoiding saying thing which might 'out' them, even down to participating in activities they do not enjoy in order to mask their sexuality.

Non-disclosure may come at the expense of trusting and open relationships with colleagues or clients. Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees may be perceived as unwilling to develop a reciprocal and informal work relationships or untrustworthy if they do not share similar personal information. Some models of effective team working often cite communication, trust and support as important variables but this can be a challenge for LGB employees who face revealing potentially stigmatizing information. In the case of the law company Jack says: *"A client wants to trust what you're saying, and you might be the best technical lawyer in the world, but if they feel you're not being straight with them, pardon the pun, then they do, they pick up on that, and they know that there's something there that isn't quite gelling, and you're not being true to them"*.

Thus, the workplace can present a real dilemma for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees; if they are 'out' at work they risk discrimination and harassment but if they remain closeted they must continually monitor their responses and censor their contributions to conversations (Bryne 1993). Day and Schoenrade found that "'Out' workers had higher job satisfaction, were more committed to their organisations, perceived top management to be more supportive of their rights, experienced less conflict between work and home and had lower

role conflict and lower role ambiguity" (Day and Schoenrade 1997:157). Conversely, Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees have reported that they fear a range of negative repercussions to disclosure, from social isolation and ostracism to harassment, job loss, and career derailment (Friskopp and Silverstein 1997).

Research by Ragins et al (2007) found that the actual fear of disclosing a gay identity at work had an overwhelmingly negative relationship with the career and work place experiences and also psychological well-being. Employees who reported a greater fear of negative consequences of disclosure had "less positive job and career attitudes, received fewer promotions and reported more physical stress-related symptoms" than employees who reported less fear even in the absence of actual discrimination (Ragins et al 2007:114). Their research also reveals how complex the disclosure process can be; that in some situations concealment may be a necessary coping strategy in unsupportive or hostile environments and that disclosure does not automatically lead to positive outcomes at work. Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees have to continuously weigh up the psychological benefits of authenticity against the risk of negative consequences such as exclusion, discrimination and harassment. So 'coming out' is not in itself sufficient to ensure the wellbeing of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees. Even in environments where Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees can disclose, there is a sense of invisibility; they are tolerated as long as they leave their sexuality at the door in the same way that heterosexuals are (inaccurately) believed to do.

The presumption of heterosexuality may be double-edge sword; on one hand enabling LGB leaders to pass as heterosexual until they feel comfortable in coming out but also presenting a source of conflict between concealment and the need to be authentic. The need for authenticity is a characteristic that appeared to become more compelling over time; perhaps as LGB employees progress in their careers they feel a greater responsibility to be out. Perhaps also, leaders achieve a level of seniority which means there is less risk in coming out. Jack explains: *"I often feel I've got more courage because I'm now an equity partner, and that was my final rung on the ladder. I felt that then gave me the confidence to be more*

open about my sexuality". However, not all leaders at the law company chose to come out once they made partner: Jack says *"There is a frustration level, I think, about lawyers who aren't out that I sometimes feel. Then I put myself in their position. If you're good enough to be a partner, then I don't see any issue around you being LGBT. Maybe some other people don't think the same".* An individual's own comfort with their sexuality may be a factor and perhaps mediates the relationship between organisational climate and levels of disclosure. This may be an important area of future research.

It would be reasonable to conclude that the bandwidth of close relationships available for effective and creative team working will be reduced in organisational climates which inhibit full disclosure. Further, LGB employees who limit their social interaction with colleagues or clients may face other unintended consequences such as the impediment of their career advancement to senior roles where networks and visibility are critical. For these reasons organisations should consider how they can explicitly support all employees in being out and whether there is a role for senior LGB leaders to act as role models. Even in organisations which are supportive, the experience is LGB employees is not well understood. Lena says: *"You do not understand the landscape if you think it's that straight-forward or everybody should be out, and everybody should be happy, and we all love the gays here…it's all great and super, without knowing the pain that people go through for personal identity".*

Rumens and Kerfoot (2009: 782) argue that while employers may be more sensitive to the needs of LGB employees: "normative discourses of professionalism that shape narrow ideals about professional conduct still persist" and that the cultural freight attached to male homosexuality can still disrupt attempts to self-identify as openly gay and professional in the

Workplace".

Research by Brenner et al (2010) explored the relationships between the level of workplace outness, and performance of organisational citizenship behaviours (OCBs), stigmatization salience and perceptions of the organisational climate for heterosexism (attitudes, bias, and discrimination in favour of opposite-sex sexuality and relationships). Their research found

"that perceptions of organisational climate for heterosexism are directly predictive of levels of 'workplace outness'" (Brenner et al 2010:32). Another finding was that being 'out' at work was directly predictive of organisational citizenship behaviours – the pro-social, discretionary, extra-role efforts by employees which are now widely regarded as linked to organisational success. From a practical perspective, it would be reasonable to conclude that there are business advantages to be achieved if employees can direct their energy towards company-focused activities, which might otherwise be directed towards their identity management efforts. This would be consistent with Day and Schoenrade's (1997) view that the emotional energy needed to keep a fundament part of one's psychological and social make-up is likely to be a source of stress. They also attribute lower job satisfaction to inhibited social interactions caused by the requirement to maintain secrecy about their sexuality. Paul Reed at BP quotes in Lord Browne's 'The Glass Closet' "I don't want people saving a quarter of their brain to hide who they are. I want them to apply their whole brain to their job" (Browne 2014:98). More broadly, a number of mental health indicators for lesbian and gay individuals, including greater levels of depressive symptoms, alcohol consumption, anxiety, loneliness, suicidal thoughts and behaviours, and lower levels of self-esteem and satisfaction have been linked empirically to internalized anti-lesbian and gay prejudice (Moradi et al 2009). Snyder states that "most gay men understand that suppressing their sexual orientation in an attempt to take on what society has viewed as the more socially acceptable role of heterosexuality can lead to a variety of emotional stresses and difficulties, including diminished career health" (Snyder 2006:XX111). There is some research which suggests that reduced psychological well-being can be experienced by all employees, regardless of sexuality, as a result of working in climates where behaviours such as homophobic jokes are common place (Silverschanz et al 2008).

How does Bourdieu's work help to understand the LGB experience at work? One challenge here is that Bourdieu considers gender and sexuality to be reproduced by a take up of norms. However, the LGB identity is a deviation from the norm and that is at the heart of the LGB (and T) struggle. As Skeggs states "Lesbians and gay men have learnt not to just to occupy positions of ambiguity but also to deploy ambiguity to resist the forces of power and violence by making oneself unrecognizable, difficult to read, or making oneself abject in a

non-pathological way" (Skeggs 1997:26). When LGB people come out, what do they come out into? As disempowering as the closet may be, in coming out LGB become subordinated in a field constructed of a hierarchal relationship between heterosexuality and homosexuality. Brenner et al (2010) found that the stigma attached to being gay or lesbian results in greater focus on oneself when the environment cues the experience of being 'other'.

Perhaps practice theory might provide insight into how the working environment cues the experience of being 'other'. Some taken for granted and seemingly harmless workplace behaviour may actually be difficult for LGB employees; the presumption of heterosexuality contained in the question asked to one participant "What does your husband do?" is an example. The client-partner relationship shifts when the practice of asking a woman about her husband is introduced; her sexual identity is cued. Nicolini states "Social ontologies based in the notion of practice…also have a significant bearing on the notion of meaning and identity. Meaning (what something is) and identity (who someone is) necessarily emerge from practices and through practices" (Niolini 2012:177). So for LGBT people, heteronormative practices can cue identity.

This sense of 'otherness' is concern of queer theory and there are clear parallels with Bourdieu's work. Cornwall (1998) argues that terms like 'gay' and 'lesbian' and 'fluid' are historically contingent on social constructions and that sexual identities are dependent on culturally inherited linguistic structures. Cockburn considers it an error "to take as real, and unthinkingly ascribe to living people, divisive identities such as labourer/capitalist, man/woman, straight/gay, black/white. . Rather we should understand them as products of *identification*, a naming process that needlessly sets us against each other" (Cockburn 2012:207)

Queer theory takes a deconstructionist standpoint that might argue that terms like 'lesbian' or 'gay' create an illusion of epistemological certainty; we are socialised to accept them and they become part of our habitus. Further, queer theory resists attempts to define and categorise sexual identities or suggest that any sexual identity is 'deviant'. The ontological

fixedness presented by these categories is further problematic now as younger people choose not to adopt these descriptions of their sexuality and adopt other terms such as 'fluid' or, in relation to gender, 'non-binary'. The pressure to articulate a sexual identity when one is not heterosexual may make issues of authenticity salient. Whilst invaluable for creating a sense of belonging, coming out as lesbian, gay or bisexual may suppress other aspects of identity such as race, gender or class (Holt and Griffin 2003). Griffin (1991) also argues that 'deviance' is a social construction. For Griffin the dominant group benefits from labelling the stigmatized group as 'deviant' in order to maintain social and political power, not unlike Bourdieu's depictions of power and dominance. As previously discussed Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius et al 2004) explains the stratification of societies by age, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, religion etc. Using Bourdieu's concept of field, we might argue that these groups are structured into social hierarchies in the workplace with a hegemonic or dominant group at the top and subordinate groups below. One can see how Bourdieu's ideas about habitus, the structuring of the field and the capital one possesses might also support social dominance theory.

Heterosexuality may in itself be a form of capital, especially for married men. Certainly, there is evidence that suggest married men earn more than single heterosexual men (Sears et all 2011) and "the wage premium for getting married is also likely to be at least partly a result of a preference for heterosexual workers" (Browne 2014:88). The disadvantages faced may go further than the wage differential. The unspoken assumption is that since heterosexuality is the norm, the whole heterosexual life is of more value than that those of lesbians and gay men. LBG employees may find, for example, that they have to cover for heterosexual colleagues as their personal lives are less valued: *"I was in a leadership role I was often told to take up extra work for those with less seniority (not the standard of other leaders) as they had family/spouse at home"* - Respondent 40, A White American Lesbian. This is consistent with my own experience where I was expected to travel more or work later than even single heterosexual colleagues. This was despite my own home life differing little from my heterosexual colleagues and that we cared for my partner's children one night during the week and at weekends. LGB employees may also define success in a different way from their heterosexual colleagues and this too may be problematic: *"I have also found*

that some managers are intolerant of difference and don't get why I might have different priorities to them - almost all straight, white, family men. This sometimes comes back as subtly discriminatory feedback on what I should or shouldn't be doing, which is based on their one world view, and subjective opinion on what success is" – Respondent 94, a Gay Man.

In organisations, it may be that difference is considered a risk. As Lord Browne (2014) says "Corporate boards are the product of established social and professional networks, and are tasked with the stewardship of a company. It is therefore unsurprising that they tend to be conservative and risk averse, and that they have behaved in ways that reinforce the division between insiders and outsider" (2014:84). Practices themselves form social systems and are a "manifold of interconnected practices and their enduring cycles of reproduction" (Nicolini, 2012) and so minority leaders may struggle to enter social systems at the top of organisations because of a combination their difference and the practices that reinforce sameness at the top. One participant states that moving into a leadership position could have been easier if he had not been *"regarded by the existing management team as an 'outsider'"* – Respondent 95, a Bisexual Man. Nicolini finds that routines provide both "cognitive economy and anxiety reduction and control" (Nicolini 2012:48); perhaps then sameness also provides a similar defence against anxiety and as Lord Browne states, a mitigation of risk.

'Sexual orientation is not merely about sex. It is about how and with whom people build their lives' (Browne 2014:131) and there is need for a deeper understanding about what it means to be lesbian, gay or bisexual at work. Like other minorities the aspirations and expectations of LGB people are likely to be conditioned by their habitus. The relationship between the minority sexuality habitus and the social structures at work are complex and can result in field-habitus clash as LGB employees move into leadership positions. Location in social space is likely to be different for women who are lesbian or bisexual versus gay men, as gender plays a further role in determining an individual's 'sense of place'. Just as working class people correct accents and manners in order to achieve a desirable place in the field so

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

LGB people may pass as heterosexual until they achieve a degree of success where coming out is less likely to incur negative consequences.

There are different social and emotional pressures for LGB leaders who face a number of barriers and struggles as leaders: on one hand there is the need to be authentic versus the risk of revealing potentially stigmatizing information. Non- and partial disclosure strategies can come at the expense of open and trusting relationships with colleagues and with clients. Models of effective team working and client relationships often cite communication, trust and support as important variables this may be challenging for LGB employees. Further, as coming out is something that LGB people have to do continually there is the need to manage their coming out in situations which cue their identity and sometimes the practice is to avoid coming out in order to avoid social embarrassment (if not for themselves then for their client). As an often-invisible minority unambiguous support for all minorities needs to be clear from the top.

Like other minorities LGB employees find dominance of heterosexual male culture at work, especially at the top of the organisation, to be an obstacle. Respondent 40, an American Lesbian says: *"My boss made it clear that he was uncomfortable with the fact that I was a lesbian and outside of the people he liked to promote to positions of power within the workforce. It got to the point that I left and started my own organisation as the constant double standard was too much to deal with"*. LGB employees may lack the social capital of heterosexual men and therefore getting into leadership positions may take longer.

"My final teaching practice, I mean this is kind of linked, but it's a ridiculous story. I did a final teaching practice in a church school in xxxxx. I've done weeks and then we're having a week off. The end of the second week we've been making bricks, doing a project on Egypt, making bricks out of soil from the school's wild garden. It just completely messed up the whole classroom. The Head took me into her office and she said, "You've had a few problems making these bricks for your Egyptian topic. Is it because you're gay?" It's that kind of

reaction. "Oh, you're not a very good Head teacher. Is it because you're gay?" It's that sort of driving for me. I'm sure it is for a lot of people" – Jason.

The story above demonstrates that for LGB employees, failure can be attributed not to individual characteristics but to their sexuality. Literature supports a similar experience for BME employees where black leaders are perceived to be more incompetent than whites and failures are attributed to their ethnicity (Carton and Rosette, 2011). This idea is resisted because it removes the potential for LGB people to be successful leaders. Says Jason: *"If people are going to say I'm not very good at what I do, I'd rather they said it's because of anything else, but not being gay. I think there's an awful lot of people out there who still see it as means that we aren't as good as our heterosexual counterparts"*. Perhaps there are comparisons with the experience of women and BME leaders who struggle because maleness and whiteness are considered central characteristics of leadership.

LGB leaders may also possess a non-dominant form of capital and this might be conceived as a form of sensitivity to and connection with other minority groups. Jason says: *"I think what I bring to the job being gay is an understanding…..I know how it feels to be discriminated against"*. In his book 'The G Quotient' (2006:XIX) Kirk Snyder states that "As part of the recognition process of being different, gay men tend to develop an accompanying self-awareness and basic critical thinking in order to get along in the world". Perhaps this suggests a form of capital that gay men, if not LGB people more broadly may possess. Self-awareness is a key component of emotional intelligence, now widely regarded as a key differentiator been average and exceptional leaders (Goleman 1999) and combined with a heightened awareness of the needs of others results in a more emotionally intelligent leader. Perhaps minority leaders engage in self-exploration and environmental exploration to a greater degree than majority leaders? Does the scanning of the environment that LGB people do offer something? Snyder argues that the AIDs crisis required gay men to sharpen their organisational abilities and that these experiences contributed to the development of "adaptability, intuitive communication, and creative problem solving" (Snyder 2006: XV) as key skills in gay leaders. Whether that is true given that many LGB leaders now may not

have directly experienced the AIDs crisis or were active in addressing it, is debatable. However, as a stigmatised minority perhaps LGB leaders are more open to jettison traditional ideas about leadership and workplaces in order to create a work environments that allow for greater freedom and collaboration. Perhaps also, more contemporary ideas about leadership such as inclusion, adaptability, the value of intuition, and collaboration are more appealing to LGB leaders in part because they have been critical to the community's survival. If organisations are to benefit from diversity then they have to create a culture of inclusion. As Jason says: *"If you work at our school, you know that we are an inclusive school. This has really tested people's definition of what inclusion actually is. Inclusion, as we say all along, it's not just about the cuddly groups, the groups that we feel safe with, it's about everybody. Otherwise it's not inclusion"*. For one woman, being gay may have meant that she was not subject to the same strictures as other women: *"I haven't had many issues, but other women have come and asked me to do something about the lack of women in leadership roles - wonder if this is something to do with being 'allowed' different sorts of behaviour as I am gay?"* – Respondent 60, a Lesbian.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

The research found that the following were important interventions in the development of minority leaders.

1. Mentoring
2. Development
3. Training for Managers
4. Selection
5. Leadership Model
6. Confidence
7. Networking
8. Role Models

As noted before, these findings point to existing knowledge in the field and provide some confirmation of existing practice.

Mentoring and Career Management

Mentors typically act a trusted advisor to more junior employees and mentoring is generally addresses longer-term career development. Mentoring tends to be concerned with individually focused outcomes (as opposed to training which might be focused on establishing minimum skill levels) and so may be particularly beneficial for minority leaders who find that their needs are not fully met by leadership development programmes. Perhaps also there is the reflective potential that mentoring offers which may help minority leaders in identifying strategies for addressing the very specific challenges they face. Mentoring may provide the opportunity for candid feedback, advice, and the development that leaders need over and above generic leadership programmes. Further, mentoring sends a clear message to both the employee and the organisation about the value of the individual and their potential; it can also provide visibility for the mentee especially if the mentor connects them with their own network. Thus, mentoring, in addition to its developmental benefits, can also be an instrumental relationship of sponsorship. Careers choices are not solely determined an individual's plans but by wide ranging demographic and social factors which influence what an individual thinks they can do. Mentoring may help individuals to understand the

influences on them and making more informed and potentially more ambitious choices for themselves. Mentoring may also help minority leaders understand more about how dominant coalition operates, what it values and how to influence them. Equally mentoring can be mutually beneficial and offers majority leaders to hear the voices and experiences of minorities in their own workplaces. Senior mentors hearing the voices of Women, BME and LGB employees is particularly important because it provides senior management validation of the concerns of these groups whose experiences are often denied or omitted from organisational and executive discourses.

Leadership Development

Leadership development needs to break new ground. Day (2000) distinguishes between leader and leadership development with leaders' development aimed at building intrapersonal competence and leadership development aimed at building interpersonal competence. Day describes the purpose of leader development as the following: "The primary emphasis of the overarching development strategy is to build the intrapersonal competence needed to form an accurate model of oneself, to engage in healthy attitude and identity development, and to use that self-model to perform effectively in any number of organisational roles" (Day 2000:585). Day also states that "the predominant emphasis in organisational leadership has been on the human capital of individual leaders" which is primarily about developing knowledge skills and abilities (Day 2000:584).

My own work in leadership development (particularly at the top end of the organisation) focuses on the development of emotional intelligence, widely regarded as the key differentiator between good and exceptional leaders. I focus on competencies such as self-awareness and self-regulation as well as social awareness and influencing. This approach is consistent with more contemporary leadership approaches and focuses on both personal effective competencies as well as the ability to lead through relationships so building both intra- and interpersonal competence. Self-awareness is important because

when we know how we are hardwired, it is easier to be flexible and behaviour flexibility is critical if leaders are to be effective in a range of situations. In terms of interpersonal competencies, Day finds that "social resources are embedded in work relationships" (Day 2000:584) and takes the form of 'social capital'. In order words, it is through relationships that leaders develop social capital and thus influence. Day distinguishes between the development of employees and the development of leaders where the focus for the latter is on building 'social capital' and this is achieved by "building networked relationships among individuals that enhance cooperation and resource exchange in creating organisational value" (Day 2000:585). So leadership development needs to address the leader's interpersonal competence through the development of social skills. Social capital can be sub-divided into structural, relational and cognitive (Nahapiet and Ghosal 1998). Structure refers to networks ties, a leader's location in relation to his or her contacts. The second aspect is relational which are built through trust and trustworthiness, the latter being an intrapersonal competence. The third relates to a cognitive dimension which is the "shared representations and collective meanings among people" (Day 2000: 585). These dimensions of social capital are, according to Day, interrelated.

Bourdieu did not specifically address leadership in organisations and whilst this is a much narrower field than his concerns, his tools are helpful. There are clear parallels, in Bourdieu's work for example with the idea that aspects of capital are structured; where an individual is located in their network in relation to others provides resources draws a comparison to one's location in a field. Secondly, that a factor in the creation of social capital is related to seeing the world in the same way as others is similar in concept to shared habitus. If, as this research has shown, that minority leaders' may suffer as consequence of differences in habitus and therefore capital when they enter the field of leadership, then leadership development which addresses the nature of capital in the organisation (what helps people get on here?), openly and honestly acknowledges the location of different groups, and increases contact between groups through initiatives such as mentoring should be considered. Telling the truth about current realities is itself a function of leadership. Development that specifically addresses the ways in which leaders can create diverse and helpful network ties as well as an emphasis on creating shared values and culture may be valuable. Clearly all

leaders can benefit from development that addresses these aspects of their leadership effectiveness and Day (2000) argues that greater value resides in combing both intra- and interpersonal development. However, this may be more critical for minority leaders and this should be made explicit. In reality the intra- and inter-personal aspects of leadership are interconnected "What we do is a reflection of who we are, and who we are is the combined total of what we repeatedly do" (Hamill 2013:26). Perhaps we can extend this idea using Bourdieu's theories to include the idea that what we repeatedly do is a factor of our habitus.

There is little in terms of leadership definitions which incorporate diversity as a critical factor in the effectiveness of leadership often confusing leadership as a role with leadership as an activity. Organisations might consider calling out ownership of diversity and inclusion by incorporating responsibilities for diversity in leadership competencies and assessment. Peter Senge (2009) defines leadership as "the capacity of a human community to shape its future, and specifically to sustain the significant processes change required to do so" (Chapter 1, Section 3). If so, then Bourdieu's tools could be as valuable for leaders as practitioners.

Experience is at the heart of leadership development and participants highlighted the need for clarity about the critical leadership development experiences that managers needed to have. Organisations need to support all leaders in learning by creating cultures and foster innovation and taking risks. Respondent 69, a Heterosexual Woman, suggests: *"1. Willingness to give women and ethnic groups opportunities to lead. 2. A work environment that encourages leadership that is innovative and takes risks. 3. A workplace that uses failure as a learning tool that makes leadership stronger not inhibits or condemns it"*. More generally, leaders may benefit from more reflexiveness, listening, collaborating, and coalition-building.

The unconscious may hold minority leaders prisoners of their own pasts; their own assumptions about their potential to progress may hinder them. Given that the self-concept of minority leaders may be formed in the context of organisational inequality, they may

internalise interpersonal prejudice to the detriment of their well-being or self-select out: *"It got to the point that I left and started my own organisation as the constant double standard was too much to deal with"* – Respondent 40, an American Lesbian. Minority stress theory (Meyer 2003) argues that minorities experience mismatch between their own minority identity and the dominant culture. Of course by presuming that gender, ethnicity, and sexuality are internalised as stigmatised identities, we are in danger of blaming the victims of organisational inequality for not having the cultural characteristics of the majority leaders. One of the most significant pieces of learning for me during this programme has been to understand that to only focus on the development needs of minority leaders is to inadvertently hold them responsible for the cause and the solution. However, there is the potential to significantly change approaches working with minority leaders in their development (either in leadership development programmes and in coaching) by helping them to think about how they may be adjusting their expectations and the external factors which influence them.

Leadership development programmes and coaching in which these issues are openly discussed paired with structural interventions such as diversity programmes may be valuable interventions to decrease internalised stigma. Development for minority leaders needs to support them in understanding their own habitus and how any limiting assumptions they hold that may derived from it. Bourdieu argued "that people adjust their subjective expectations to match their objective chances" (Grenfell 2008:173). That may be true in many cases but for those who do recognise that their lack of progression is not necessarily of their own making may consciously decide that the battle is not worth it: *"I've heard that 'women just don't want the top jobs' which is true for me but only from the perspective that a thoroughly hideous and unpleasant culture exists there for anybody who isn't a cis, hetero, white, middle class man. I want to work towards making a difference, not spend all day managing stupid internal politics or fending off constant attacks, backstabs and patsying."* – Respondent 10 a Lesbian.

Leadership development programmes and coaching can benefit from helping participants (both majority and minority) to understand:

- What is the nature of the domain in which they work and what do they notice about how it is structured?
- What do they notice about who holds power?
- What is the nature of the capital - social, cultural, economic - that helps people to succeed in their organisations?
- Who are they in relation to the system?
- What do they notice about their own assumptions about the likelihood of success and progression?

Leadership programmes need to focus on making explicit the tacit assumptions in all of us; being braver and creating safe spaces for both majority and minority leaders to express the themselves. Florence who has worked extensively with minority leaders says that often the focus for her clients is: *"How can I fit in better?" Not, how do I overcome being different, but "How can I become more acceptable?". That's not how they would express it, and it's not how I would like it to be expressed, but that's what I understand the question to mean. How can I influence more, how can I be listened to more, how can I be respected? Those are questions everybody asks, by the way, who does not feel that they have their voice in whatever way".*

Building Confidence

Clearly leaders from minority backgrounds have to resolve progression challenges with clear disadvantages and this may have a significant impact on confidence. Even successful minority leaders may still experience lack of confidence due to their lack of perceived legitimacy. How do you deal with the vulnerability if you are in charge? How do you have a place in the system? Lena says *"Lots of women, including myself, struggle with Imposter Syndrome on a daily basis and overcoming this has been critical in gaining faith in my own skills and abilities as a leader".* Grenfell explains "what is likely becomes what we

actively choose. Actors thereby come to gravitate towards those social fields (and positions within those fields) that best match their dispositions and to try to avoid those fields which involve a field–habitus clash" (Grenfell 2008:57). 'Imposter Syndrome' may be a factor of a field-habitus clash. Development programmes for minority leaders tend to address confidence building and as participants have said, enable them to discuss issues that might not be addressed in mainstream programmes. Perhaps we can look to Bourdieu to enhance those programmes. Grenfell describes the experience of migrants choosing desirable field positions in their new countries: "Where this process is a self-aware or consciously regulated one, Bourdieu argues that an altered habitus will result, one which matches the new field structure" (Grenfell 2008:143). As discussed earlier the exploration of habitus, capital and field in these programmes could encourage a more conscious transformation and greater confidence. Further, an exploration of the advantages that minority leaders may have through their experiences of marginalisation or their particular leadership styles may be valuable in creating new ideas about effective leadership and ultimately creating new *doxa*. After all, one role for leaders is creating a vision for the future.

Could we also consider whether existing research on one minority group may shed light on the experience of other groups and whether this could contribute to new approaches to leadership development and increased self-awareness of the habitus of minority leaders? Whilst existing research shows that leadership may be gender-typed as male and as white, this research also show that heterosexuality maybe also be an unconscious but desired characteristic of leaders. Many of the ideals of leadership may be derived from normative forms of masculinity and masculine behavioural scripts and those who deviate from (or indeed cannot comply) with those ideals may struggle to progress. An example of this might be gay men, who deviate from masculine habitus and may face sanctions at work because of it.

Role Congruence Theory holds that individuals develop prescriptive and descriptive gender role expectations based on evolutionary gender-based division of work (hunters versus gatherers). Men go out to work and women stay at home with the children. Men are more

self-directed, assertive and independent whereas women are communal, nurturing and relationship-focused (Eagly 1987). Role congruence theory proposes that people tend to have similar beliefs about the characteristics of men and leaders, agentic and assertive, but dissimilar beliefs about the characteristics of women and leaders (Eagly & Karau 2002). Consistent with other research, Role Congruence Theory, finds suggests that women encounter more disapproval than men due to violation of their gender role. However, Role Congruence Theory extends existing theories by suggesting that perceptions of incongruity can vary depending on the nature of the leadership role. Women who occupy a role that requires the ability to control and direct may face sanctions. However, if the leadership role requires behaviours more consistent with ideas about women such as participation and consideration then male leaders occupying such a role may be seen as incongruent with the role too (Eagly & Karau 2002).

Although this was not specifically developed to address race or sexuality, it is possible to see how it might be applied. Gay men for example, often stereotyped as effeminate, camp, or simply ‘sensitive and caring’ and therefore less masculine, may suffer in much the same way as women. Minority ethnic employees who are stereotyped as occupying a lower social status in society may not be expected to occupy a higher status in the workplace. From a gender perspective examination of our expectations of the social roles occupied by men and women may open up possibilities for leadership models to be broader, extending the behavioural repertoire for both men and women to include a continuum of leadership styles from agentic, task-focused and directive to affiliative and participative. In terms of ethnicity there is value in challenging our assumptions, unconscious or otherwise, about whiteness as a characteristic of leadership. For leaders who may have been raised in different cultures, for example abroad, discussions about leadership expectations can be valuable. I have seen quite different leadership behaviours and expectations from Scandinavians such as low power distance between managers, self-organised and bottom up approaches to team leadership that are increasingly used in the technology sector and may have broader application. Equally some of the consensus building approaches seen in Asian cultures may be valuable in times of change. Success of course would depend on organisations recognising the value of

leaders working with a range of styles and being deliberate in their choice of styles depending on situation, context and the needs of the followers.

Those who possess capital try to maximise their capital and are interested in reproducing the conditions which most helpful to increasing their capital. There is no shortage of books which inform leadership development which have been written by successful leaders; mainly white, heterosexual men. Many executive coaches and mentors are also white, heterosexual men. Undoubtedly, they have much to offer in terms of their own learning and experience but they may be inadvertently reinforcing the practices and condition in which minorities struggle. Can we think differently about leadership and our capacity to impact the organisation in a different way? Can we set aside some of the ideas about contemporary leadership and look for models of leadership that also value some of the communal and inclusive styles that minority leaders might exhibit. If we can incorporate some of the particular leadership qualities that minority leaders possess we have the potential to develop multi-dimensional leaders. Leadership implies hierarchy and in itself that can marginalise people; we cannot forget that it was leadership that criminalised gay people and leadership that continues to marginalise people. For Bourdieu power is relational and process oriented and again this has implications for leadership and the development of leadership capability. For practitioners, we need to view the organisation as embedded in a "field wherein actors constantly struggle to accumulate "capital," that fleeting form of power whose value is always and only ever field specific" (Everett 2002: 57); to be mindful that the people we are working with may have challenges that go beyond learning about leadership styles or techniques.

How do women reconcile and overcome the incongruity between gender roles and leader roles? One way might be for gender norms in organisations to change. However, despite the entry of women into the spectrum of job roles gender norms remain stubbornly consistent. Further, broader societal change is required since "these roles are emergent from the activities carried out by individuals of each sex in their sex-typical occupational and family roles"

(Eagly and Karau 2002:590). The other way is for leadership models to incorporate more of the participative and communal behaviours more commonly associated with women.

New perspectives on leadership are offering approaches which might be more aligned to female gender roles that more traditional models. Emphasis is placed on more democratic and participatory styles and the more communal behaviours more commonly associated with female managers (Eagly & Johnson 1990). I work with a leadership model, the Hay McBer model (Goleman 2000). This model uses six leadership styles: Authoritative (now relabelled as ‘visionary’), Affiliative, Coaching, Democratic, Pacesetting and Coercive.

Figure 9.0 Hay McBer Leadership Styles (from Harvard Business Review, Leadership That Gets Results (2000:82))

	Coercive	Authoritative (visionary)	Affiliative	Democratic	Pacesetting	Coaching
Leader's Modus operandi	Demands immediate compliance	Mobilizes people towards a vision	Creates harmony and builds emotional bonds	Forges consensus through participation	Sets high standards for performance	Develops people for the future
The style in a phrase	'Do what I tell you'	'Come with me'	'People come first'	'What do you think?'	'Do as I do now'	'Try this'
Underlying emotional intelligence competence	Drive to achieve, initiative, self-control	Self-confidence, empathy, change catalyst	Empathy, building relationships, communication	Collaboration, team leadership, communication	Conscientiousness, drive to achieve, initiative	Developing others, empathy, self-awareness
When the style works best	In a crisis, to kick start a turnaround, Or with	When changes require a new vision, or when a clear direction	To heal rifts in a team or to motivate people during	To build buy-in or consensus, or to get input from valuable	To get quick results from a highly motivated and competent team	To help an employee improve performance or develop long-term performance

	problem employees	is needed	stressful circumstances	employees		
Overall impact on climate	Negative	Most strongly positive	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive

When working through this model with groups we examine the pros and cons of each style, the situations in which they are most useful and what might happen if one or more leadership styles are overplayed and how best to develop the style. Although the model does not specifically reference gender, race or sexuality, it does extend the leadership behavioural repertoire to include styles more commonly associated with men's leadership behaviours such as pacesetting and coercive, and those more commonly associated with women's leadership behaviours such as affiliative and democratic. Although I have worked with the model for some years I had not, until I undertook this study, recognised that this model could be helpful in addressing some of challenges women face. This model could facilitate the integration of both masculine and the feminine components of self, potentially changing some of the dynamics which limit male leaders' leadership styles and which hinder women's careers. The model recognises that leadership is a factor of both situation and behavioural repertoire.

The Corporate Executive Board (2014), following their research on the representation of women, identified four imperatives to increase the representation of women in leadership. These imperatives are intended to counter conventional ideas about women in leadership:

Figure 10.0 CEB (2014) Four Imperatives to Increase the Representation of Women in Leadership Positions

Conventional Wisdom	Reality	Imperative
Women need to break the 'glass ceiling'	Women face micro-challenges not a glass ceiling	Address micro-challenges throughout the career life-cycle
Women don't have the same career aspiration as men	It's a visibility problem not an aspiration problem	Create visibility into leadership opportunities for women
Flexible work schedules are a special benefit	Flexible work schedules are a default not a benefit	Make flexible work schedules the default for all employees
Opting out means permanently resigning from a leadership track	Opting out is temporary not permanent	Create accelerated on-ramps back into leadership for women who temporarily opt out.

There are a couple of points to note here. Practice approaches may help to identify micro-challenges and may be more helpful than nebulous ideas such a ‘glass ceilings’. Also, these four imperatives could equally apply to other groups – even men for whom the long, linear and uninterrupted career may no longer be an aspiration.

Microaggressions

Negative treatment tended to be more subtle than the outright or intentional acts of discrimination or bigotry that might have been more common in the past and this takes its toll on minorities. Respondent 10, a Lesbian, described her challenges as a leader as *“Maintaining a basic level of sustainable mental health amongst the daily microaggressions that exist in the workplace for women or minorities”*. Psychologist Derald Wing Sue defines microaggressions as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership." (Sue 2010b:XVI). These microaggressions may perpetuate stereotypes about minorities, subtly demean them or deny the existence of discrimination against those minorities. Perhaps what is interesting about the work on microaggressions is that although they may take different forms depending on the group that is subjected to them, they are usually unconscious on the part of the aggressor (Sue 2010). There is a parallel with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and the associated pre-reflexive assumptions and practices that generate inequality. Whilst Bourdieu’s conceptual tools provide a perspective on power structures might favour or militate against particular individuals, Sue’s work can help us to understand how those benefits or disadvantages are expressed. Both deal with the unconscious, taken for granted practices. As Sue says “Because of our belief in equality and democracy, and because of the civil rights movement, we now as a nation strongly condemn racist, sexist and heterosexist acts because they are antithetical to our stated values of fairness, justice, and non-discrimination. Unfortunately, this statement may apply only at the conscious level” (Sue 2010b:8). Like Bourdieu, Sue recognises that the real power of microaggressions as a practice “lies in their invisibility to the perpetrator, who is unaware that he or she has engaged in a behaviour that threatens and demeans” (Sue, 2010b:XV). They have a potentially more significant and stronger effect on self-esteem and in impairing performance and their invisibility “prevents perpetrators from realizing and confronting their own complicity in creating psychological

dilemma for minorities and their role in creating disparities in employment, health care, and education" (Sue 2010b:XVI).

This is perhaps the most critical finding in that it challenges organisations to specifically address unconscious bias *and* the practices which prevent minorities from progressing or being successful in leadership roles. This has important implications for both the training of managers in diversity and broader diversity programmes as well as leadership development. Interventions needs to go beyond training and processes that ensure compliance with the law and avoiding discrimination and recognise both interpersonal interactions and organisational climate; in other words, address both the individual and organisational systems. Sue's recommendations (2010b) can be modified slightly to the following to support minority leadership progression:

1. Recognising that minority groups are under-represented in leadership roles and that this is a result of (unconscious) practices.

2. Interventions that specifically address culture and environment to ensure that they are free of microaggressions and unconscious discriminatory practices.

3. Monitoring of practices policies and structures.

1. Recognising that minority groups are under-represented in leadership roles and that this is a result of (unconscious) practices.

The first requirement may in some ways be the most difficult. For many years when issues of inequality are raised I have heard explanations made by leaders such as "Black and Asian

people don't put themselves forward" or more recently, "Women don't want to work in our industry". These explanations suggest internal causation and have the impact of blaming the victim. It may be true that some industries might be less appealing to certain groups because they feel others like them are underrepresented, such as women in gaming, but there is nothing objectively in the contents of the job roles that should exclude minorities. Working culture, organisational policies and perceptions of sexism, racism or homophobia may influence the career choices of minorities but there is certainly no biological explanation that explains why a woman should be less competent in developing gaming technologies than a man, for example.

Acknowledging that minority groups are under-represented in leadership roles and that this is a result of practices, requires majority leaders to acknowledge their own hidden biases in order to change their beliefs and behaviours and that is likely to be challenging. Equally challenging is the willingness to examine what goes on in organisations that privileges some and disadvantages others; to recognise that systemic barriers to minority progress can be found in the unfairly biased forces that operate in organisations at all levels. If the lack of progress of minority employees is not internally caused but as a result of external systemic factors, then by implication the success of majority leaders is not entirely due to their own efforts either.

2. Interventions that specifically address culture and environment to ensure that they are free of microaggressions and unconscious discriminatory practices.

This could include training for both managers and employees that focuses on raising self-awareness and surfacing the forces that prevent the progression of minority employees. In addition, an exploration of the kinds of capital that participants possess or do not possess and which are helpful or aligned to the particular organisation would be helpful. Employee resources groups such as women's networks or LGBT, BME networks provide good faith spaces for conversations to be had and to help minority employees to develop the language to address their concerns without sounding defensive or aggressive. More broadly work

around culture and values, which is part of the work of organisational development professionals, should reference inclusion and respect as critical success factors for the organisation and an integral part of its mission and values.

3. Monitoring of practices, policies, and structures.

Monitoring the effectiveness of these diversity policies is now common practice in large organisations. Typically a two-stage process: collecting data then analysing that data. In some cases reporting on that data is mandatory (for example pay reporting for employers of 250 or more employees). Monitoring will normally cover areas such as recruitment, promotions, access to training and other opportunities. Comparisons between groups may suggest bias and should be examined. More nuanced analysis may also provide better insights into areas such as progression, for example numbers of minority leaders at each level, by function, by job type etc. However, practices and culture should also be considered. It may be valuable to ask questions that test the negative such as "What might we be doing to deter female candidates?". "What is it about our culture that might make LGBT people uncomfortable?", "Why might BME employees not be put forward to training?". There has been some interesting work around 'inclusion nudges' which "targets the advantages and shortcomings of the unconscious mind and decision-making processes" (Neilsen and Kepinski 2016:24). Inclusion nudges are intended to help organisations to make better, more objective and inclusive decisions by altering the system and elements in organisational processes, such as recruitment, promotions, performance management, succession etc. by steering "the brain's unconscious system toward inclusiveness by changing the system default (such as opt out instead of opt in)" (Neilsen and Kepinski 2016:29). Processes such as promotion or succession may benefit from asking "Why is this employee not ready for promotion/not suitable as a successor?" as opposed to "Who is ready?" in order to promote more objective evaluations. Inviting neutral observers into those processes may also be valuable. New hire surveys and employee engagements surveys can be valuable sources of insights especially if they include qualitative data. New hires tend to view the organisation with a fresh pair of eyes so it can be useful to bring them together after a few weeks to find out how they see the organisation and what they notice about the culture.

Habitus, Capital and Field

The first round of thematic analysis brought to the surface some valuable learning in terms of identifying development interventions for minority leaders. However, it became obvious that different tools were needed to enable me to look more systemically and more deeply at the issues. This is where practice theory provided a new epistemological model and Bourdieu's work more specifically, provided a different set of thinking tools to support the progression of the research. What the research shows, among other findings, was that when looked at through these different thinking tools, organisations are perhaps more committed to maintaining the status quo than we may have previously recognised. Bourdieu's theoretical framework provided an explanation for the durability of the organisational systems and the dispositions of senior (or majority) managers that were hindering progression for minority managers. Reviewing the data and the descriptions of challenges that participants faced and continued to face through the lens of Bourdieu's conceptual tools revealed that the entire fabric of one's career may be impacted by one's habitus and structural inequality in the field.

As practitioners, we need to consider the fact that differences in exploration of career opportunities and planfulness and career progression may be the outcome of the unequal access to social, economic and cultural capital. Therefore, minorities and the organisations they work for may be trying to resolve career progression challenges with a clear disadvantage. If diversity work and leadership development does not take into account symbolic capital, then it is bound to be ineffective. Power structures in organisations may invisibly facilitate the progression of majority leaders but not the progression of minorities: *"I have always had to look for and apply for senior roles, whereas am aware colleagues have been able to 'slip into the next role' with that role never being advertised etc."* – Respondent 23, a Heterosexual Asian (Indian) Woman. As previously discussed women are likely to be judged harshly or considered to be lacking in social skills when they put themselves forward; other minorities might face similar sanctions.

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

Bourdieu's theoretical framework is valuable in that it helps to understand the complexity of organisational systems in relation to diversity and can potentially help organisational development practitioners to develop a more robust understanding of organisational life. One of the most powerful aspects of Bourdieu's work is that it helps us to understand that an informal system is often more powerful than the formal system and his work provides a compelling explanation as to why the impact of diversity initiatives may have had limited impact. As Whittington says "The immutable natural orders, the forces that appear to govern systems, seem to be protecting them in an attempt to achieve coherence and flow. These are forces that many individuals, teams and whole organisations continue to work within, without conscious awareness" (Whittington 2012:7). As practitioners, we need to bring awareness of the system and the forces that govern them, and to bring attention to the practices that exist in the organisations in which we work. The everyday things we say and do at work are consequential in creating the structures of working life.

Habitus, Capital and Field are important concepts in organisational development and highlight that our efforts come to nothing if we do not address the way in which people are socialised and the domain in which they operate. Specifically, we need to examine the way in which the domain is structured in terms of power relations and inequality. Amongst all the diversity efforts, the training, the discourse, and the debates about quotas and percentages, "the quiet but persistent voice of the system can often get lost, misinterpreted and misnamed" (Whittington 2012:5). It is the system itself which provides structural support to enable inequalities to persist. The outcomes of our efforts are unlikely to significantly change the systems unless we look at how the system is configured and work to understand how we might use the way the system is configured to get a different kind of outcome. One aspect of that is change; systems are not configured to welcome change, they are configured to resist change. Whittington explains: "Working only at the level of the individual means you may be able to remove the symptom but the dynamic, if it belongs at the level of the system, will simply re-emerge and be expressed through someone or something else. The system doesn't care who or what it entangles; it must try to achieve coherence" (Whittington 2012:8).

Bourdieu's work also helps to better understand the collusion in the system (through the combination of minority leaders' habitus and the structuring of the field) that perpetuates inequality; that there is a dynamic between our individual habitus and the structure of the field which facilitates or denies progression and succession. Perhaps the question is not "What support do minority leaders need?" but "What is it that the organisation is doing which is stopping minority employees from progressing?". That is a much more challenging question for organisations to address not least because it requires the practices which sustain inequality to be acknowledged. The thinking that predominates the field of leadership and organisational development in regards to diversity and equality focuses on symptoms rather than underlying causes and to some degree might actually be a collusion which avoids managing the tension that diversity throws up. Florence says: *"L&D people have courses on conflict management. "What we should do with conflict is we should make it go away, we should not have it. Let's teach people how not to have it." Not, "Let's teach people to embrace conflict because conflict or confrontation, which are both pejorative expressions, but really difference of opinion, difference of perspective, and ways of expressing that that can be discordant, maybe even cause a rupture, there is always something useful to learn in that".* Working at an individual level might remove symptoms in the short term or for a few individuals but may be less effective in reconfiguring the system structure. The anxiety, the conflict that we witness may actually be a result of *hysteresi*[4]*s* and we should consider it a useful barometer for the organisation and a valuable source of intelligence. In addressing diversity issues, we tend to avoid open discussions about the real difficulties people experience in relation to issues of power and privilege. We don't 'out' the elephant in the room (to use a participant's expression). Maureen says: *"We're not good at that in organisations. We don't want uncomfortable learning; we want comfortable learning, thank you".* The challenge for practitioners is how to metabolise that anxiety into forward

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[4] Pierre Bourdieu uses the concept of Hysteresis to account for a situation where one continues to act and think on the basis of what has been internalized by socialization, even when inappropriate to the present situation. This is discussed later.

thinking and constructive ideas and actions that address the practice rather than just minorities and their development. "All systems seek coherence. Inertia, challenging group dynamics, unwelcome behaviours, 'politics' and difficult emotions in systems can be seen as messages that something is out of alignment and the system is attempting to re-establish coherence." (Whittington 2012:72).

What also emerges from studying Bourdieu's work is a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between how individuals are configured in relation to the configuration of the system and the consequences of that for them. What we see when working with his conceptual tools is that whilst difficulties may be due to the organisational system, we also carry our own habitus into the system. We may also internalise homophobia, racism, and sexism and carry it with us into our fields. Further, his tools provide the possibility for change; that if we change one part of the system it has an effect on the rest even if there may be some time before change is obvious. There is a mutual constitution and circular relationship. Practitioners can facilitate change in the local interaction, the practice, in the hope that it will change 'the system'. That is the paradox, the butterfly effect. I recall working with a leadership team that had only one woman on it and I shared that observation with the team. It led to a passionate discussion about why women were not progressing; it was clear that this was important to the men at the table. I also noted and raised that throughout the discussion women were referred to as 'girls'. Girls, I explained, do not lead in businesses but women do. If the term 'girl' reveals something of the mental model male leaders have for women, then how can they support women's progression? The woman in the group then talked openly about her experience, her dislike of the term 'girl' and the men listened and acknowledged their own contribution to the lack of women's progression in their organisation. The group agreed that this was something they needed to progress. It is a small example that through critical questioning it is possible to unravel and make sense of the practices. If we are able to draw attention to and change the practice then the structure is weakened so the practice is weakened; observation changes the system.

Working Practically with Bourdieu's Tools

If Bourdieu's work provides the conceptual tools that can help practitioners to understand the social production of organisational reality then how can we work with them in order to change that reality? As Everett states "Bourdieu's world is not deterministic; there is agency, but that depends on the agent's "realistic" expectations and the agent's knowledge of her or his world" (Everett 2002:76). A Bourdieusian approach attempts to understand the structures of the social space in which people work and live and the experiences individuals have of those spaces. In order to understand both of those, Bourdieu recommends working at three levels:

Level One: Examine the field in relation to other fields, in particular, to the field of power

Level Two: Examine the interconnections between agents and field institutions.

Level Three: Compare the habitus of a range of individuals. Rigorously examine the characteristics of individual field participants, including the most dominant, to identify which forms of capital are most valuable in the field

In order to develop my own understanding of the use of Bourdieu's tools in a practical way I am providing an example of how Bourdieu's three steps might be used by a practitioner in addressing leadership progression.

First, the field of leadership as a practice needs be considered taking into account issues of power. For example:

- How is the organisation structured in terms of levels, bandings, grades?
- What is the organisation's design like in relation to other, similar and different organisations?

- How many people are employed at each level?
- What are typical spans and tiers at each level (i.e. Typically how many direct reports does a leader have and how many levels of reporting lines are beneath them?)
- What typically is the scope of each leadership level - for example geographical and/or functional responsibilities
- What is the level of decision-making authority at each level?

Second, the structure of capital needs to be understood in order to understand the positions of power that different leaders occupy. The purpose of this is to identify the dominant coalition and subordinate groups that exist.

- How are the leadership levels constituted in terms of gender, ethnicity and sexuality? Sexuality may not be monitored but it might be useful to determine how may 'out' leaders there are. The absence of knowledge or data about leaders who are 'out' at work is in itself valuable.
- Demographics such age, nationality and level of educational qualification should be analysed.
- What privileges are offered at each level? These might include private offices, PAs, different benefits, different travel classes (rail, flight) etc.
- When do we see failures attributed to gender, sexuality or race?
- What is the role of diversity in the system?
- What is our organisation doing that holds back minority leaders?

The third stage would be to understand the habitus of leaders at each level. This might be achieved by interviewing them to understand their personal and leadership journeys. Areas to research might be:

- Background - family, location, class, place of birth, where they grew up
- Education - public, private, level

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- Career journey
- Leadership journey
- Influences - including mentors, managers, parents, etc.
- Factors which leaders attribute to their success
- Leaders' views on what it takes to get on in their field or organisation
- What specifically are the experiences of minority leaders?
- Who do we consider to be resilient in the organisation? Why?
- What voices are being heard and what voices are not being heard?
- What is it we contend with as leaders that others need to know?
- What is it we contend with as minorities that others need to know?

Bourdieu recommends that the researcher attempt to address and overcome three key filters or biases at each stage of the research process. These biases are social, field, and intellectualist. Social Bias relates to our origins as a researcher. For example, what are the influences of our class, our gender, our sexual orientation, education, nationality etc.? The second relates to field bias. What biases might arise from the position we occupy in our respective fields? In my own field, I am a senior leader, and a man in an industry and company that is predominately male. What biases might impact on my ability to work with issues faced by those who have less privileged field positions? The third bias, intellectualist bias, arises from taking a position that might be regarded as academic rather than practical. Bourdieu and Wacquant caution against this collapsing of practical logic that "entices the researcher to construe the world as a spectacle, as a set of significations to be interpreted rather than as concrete problems to be solved practically" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:39). Bourdieu encouraged reflexivity and so a Bourdieusian approach facilitates the discussion that encourages stockholders to reflect on their practices: what are we doing to hold minority leaders back and what are the changes we must make in order to help minority leaders to progress? The 'taken for granted' nature of practices means that they are perceived as 'normal' and therefore difficult to address a reflexive and practice-based approach serves to uncover structures and forces that maintain those practices. Bourdieu's approach "provides what is probably one of the most convincing ways of understanding practice and its central role in explaining social order at all levels" (Nicolini 2012:69).

Minority Leader Advantage

"Do what you love. Don't let anything deter you. If you really want to do something don't let perceived obstacles stop you. I would say go for it. If you come up against any obstacles, keep going" – Angela.

Whilst organisations value level playing fields, competition and opportunity in an increasingly liberal economic world, the same does not apply to leadership where opportunities are limited for those who do not meet the very restricted notions of what leaders should look like. Most studies around minority leadership tend to address the challenges that minority status brings such as bias and discrimination and this study is no exception. However, minority leaders are not without agency and minority status may also be a personal resource in which leaders turn "negative experiences (e.g., oppression) into constructive change in the exercise of leadership (e.g., drawing on their identity, trying to be more prototypic, or using code switching techniques)." (Chin 2009:1). Striking throughout the responses was how leaders' perceptions and experiences reflected a tendency to use their experiences of marginalization and minority status as a resource and strength rather than as a deterrent: *"It's like there's a part of them that's afraid they're going to go puff overnight and vanish and there will be a whole league of black female managers taking over the place. I tend to listen, and hear what it is they are trying to say, if there's something I think that's valid in what they are trying to say then I'll take it on. Otherwise, that is where the single-mindedness comes in - I've got a job to do I'm going to do it. Are you going to help me? No, then I'll find somebody else who will help me to do what needs to be done."* - Angela. For some, they develop a sense of responsibility to others like them so that they do not have to experience the same obstacles: *"Part of that driving force is I don't want anybody to go through what I went through at primary and secondary and Uni or whatever. Whatever way I can help, I will do and I'll stick up for and I will stand up for what I believe in. It's just so nice to hear older kids I used to teach come back and say all these amazing things"* - Jason. Further research would be valuable to understand how minority leaders identify strategies to adapt to leadership contexts which demand different characteristics than those prescribed by their gender, ethnicity or sexual orientation.

What, then, is the nature of the capital of minority leaders? Do they bring something else? The rules for what makes people successful at work have changed: "We're being judged by a new yardstick: not just by how smart we are but also by how well we handle ourselves and each other" (Goleman 1999:3). One differentiator for leaders is emotional intelligence and that is creating a premium for finding and developing leaders who combine personal competencies such as self-awareness and self-regulation with social skills such as awareness of the needs of others and highly effective leadership skills. This self-awareness may be a particular strength of BME leaders who, knowing the importance of race and ethnicity at work along with stereotypes about BME people, are sensitive to how others view them. BME leaders may be bi-culturally fluent and able to lead in ways which connect with both their own ethnic group and with the white-majority ways of working (Ospina and Foldy, 2009). Variations in lived experiences of BME leaders as a result of discrimination, racism, and biculturalism may well shape the ways in which BME leaders lead and values that they bring to leadership. Research by Chin (2009), using the GLOBE CLT model for leaders (Appendix D) found that minority ethnic leaders to be higher on Humane, Self-Protective and Participative CLT leadership dimensions. Perhaps a more humane orientation can be partially explained by being marginalized so BME leaders may be more empathetic. As previously discussed, participative leadership styles are consistent with female gender roles but increasingly valued in more contemporary leadership models. Emotionally intelligent leaders know themselves well, understand the needs and concerns of others and know how to manage and leverage their own resources in order to influence. This ability to empathise with, and include others, may be a feature of minority leaders more generally.

Another advantage might be that as a result of their own experience they are more aware of and sensitive to difference and as such their exercise of leadership is influenced by that. Whilst being a member of a minority group may be a constraint, it can be leveraged to lead across difference. Jason says: *"I think what I bring to the job being gay is an understanding. As I've said in interviews several times, when you get that interview question about minority groups. I always say, "I'm a member of a minority group myself. I know how it*

feels to be discriminated against." Of course I'm painfully aware of how people feel and I'd like to think that I bring that to the job". They may be more likely to make sure that employees are treated fairly thereby protecting the organisations they work for. As we move towards notions of leaders as 'transformational', engaging and empowering people to achieve their best, different and more reciprocal leadership styles are more effective and as the nature of the workforce changes with more women and minorities entering it, perhaps minority leaders are more able to adapt to the different needs of their employees: *"I guess it's hanging on to that element of being human and approachable and personable and being able to, I feel, I'm able to be lots of different things to different people. It's that sort of almost like a chameleon"* – Jason.

Female leadership styles

New leadership theories emphasise transformational leadership styles (Yukl 2010). Transformational leadership is future-focused and gains commitment from followers by inspiring trust and confidence, and by mentoring and empowering. Transactional leadership reflects more traditional ideals about leadership sometimes referred to as 'Carrot and Stick'. Leaders use contingent reward and penalization giving praise when goals are achieved and corrective actions when performance standards are not met. Eagly and Carli (2003) conducted meta-analysis of 39 studies which showed that female leaders were more transformational (using both effective transformational leadership styles and the contingent reward aspect of transactional leadership) whereas men tended to exceed women on the ineffective leadership styles, specifically 'passive management' by exception (waiting for problems to become severe before intervening) and 'laissez-faire leadership' (absence and lack of involvement). This may suggest that women actually have an advantage, albeit a small one. This is likely to be offset of course, by the sanctions that women face when displaying those leadership styles. However, it is an interesting finding and as transformational and contingent reward leadership styles are more widely valued and adopted, so this offers promise that leaders of any gender (or indeed ethnicity or sexuality) will be more fairly evaluated.

Diversity and Organisational Adaptability

Minority leaders may actually have an advantage in contemporary conditions. There is shifting of the case for diversity from a customer imperative to one which recognises the complex, changing and sometimes volatile environment in which organisations now need to operate. The organisations I have worked for more than the last decade have been either emerging markets or hyper growth or both. The environments are increasingly complex, sometimes characterised as VUCA (volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity). Highly structured organisational designs and rigid or narrow models of leadership are anomalous with contemporary ideas about flexibility and agility. In response, organisations are moving away from traditional structures and strategies and towards flatter and more flexible structures and more collaborative and participative leadership styles. Differing perspectives and experiences are a valuable commodity especially in industries where innovation is an imperative. The technology sector, initially driven by the need to attract talent has been pioneering new and different ways of working. Companies such as Google, Apple, and many gaming companies have environments that bear little resemblance to traditional office environments. In my own experience of emerging markets and hyper-growth companies I saw first-hand the need for employees who understood local culture and markets, and in the technology sector the need for different and more responsive approaches to product development. Agile methodologies, first developed for software development, are being used more widely, propagating ideas about self-organised teams, bottom up decision-making and low or non-hierarchical relationships throughout the organisation. The increase in minority leaders coupled with a changing organisational landscape may be accompanied by new approaches and practices in leadership.

With more ambiguous and uncertain contexts in which to lead, openness to learning and the ability to build relationships may become increasingly important. We can learn a lot about leadership from those on the margins who, out of necessity have needed to be agile learners in order to survive. Working with multiple frames of reference is a necessity for minority leaders and may be a critical component of leadership effectiveness. Florence says: *"Leaders can no longer really be in control of anything. They can be in control of budgets,*

but they can't know very much anymore, because the knowledge is constantly changing. As fast as you know something, there's another bit of knowledge come up somewhere else in the system that trumps your bit. It's not really about knowing anything. In that sense, it's not a knowledge economy anymore; it's more of a relationship economy. It will be the relationships that you have that facilitate for all of the knowledge across the organisation, all of the skills, all of the talents, to bring them together in the right ways to generate things that the system needs in order to keep making progress and keep growing in some way. That will be what leaders need to be about".

This openness to learning and the resulting flexibility may explain why minority leaders are sometimes placed in more difficult leadership situations. Research by Cook and Glass (2014) found that, consistent with glass cliff theory, occupational minorities are more likely than white men to be promoted to CEO in firms which experiencing short-, medium-, or long-term declines (2014). They also found that occupational minorities were more likely to be replaced by white men following negative firm performance, something they describe as the 'savior effect'. However, their tenures were no shorter than white men. Taken together this suggests occupational minority leaders face greater challenges than white men and that "There are at least two explanations for this finding. First, the lack of a tenure gap may be the result of the shrinking tenure length for all CEOs, irrespective of gender or race/ethnicity. Second, the lack of a tenure gap may reflect the exceptional leadership capabilities of the occupational minorities in our sample" (Cook and Glass 2014:1086). Other research from Rylan and Haslam (2005) found that during a downturn, the appointment of a woman to the board increased the share price. Additionally, the appointment of a woman to a board in stable times also showed a period of share price stability. Interestingly during stock market downturns, companies who had appointed a woman had done so following a period of consistently poor stock performance. This may suggest that women are appointed to precarious positions and in greater danger than men of being blamed for negative outcomes even though those outcomes are a result of circumstances in place before they were appointed. However, boards are sensitive to the concerns of shareholders and the appointment of minority leaders may be an expression of a significant organisational change as well as view that minority leaders bring something exceptional. This question arises

"What are those exceptional leadership qualities and can we develop them?" The reasons why minorities are selected and how they are able to match the tenure of majority CEOs in more difficult situations is certainly an area for further research. It might be for example that development of the resilience demonstrated by minority leaders in the face of disadvantage may be a critical success factor when placed in challenging leadership assignments. Perhaps succeeding in the face of bias and discrimination necessitates self-reflection, self-knowledge and self-mastery as well as increased flexibility.

Employee Engagement and Leadership

Increasingly organisations are striving to create meaning and purpose, with increased focused on employer brand and employer value proposition. There is a recognition that employees increasingly choose to work for organisations whose and values and principles mirror their own. Organisations now share their internal culture using social media in order to attract talent and to create expectations for both potential and existing employees about how they can expect to be treated. Gurnek Bains in his book 'Meaning Inc.' (2007) argues that organisations need to create meaning through a compelling sense of purpose, clear values and effective day-to-day leadership. Bains and his co-researchers conducted 20,000 interviews to understand how organisational can great genuine engagement and commitment. He finds that people who believe in the purpose and values of their organisations are more likely to be highly engaged and thus go the extra mile for their organisations. Meaning, he says "is experienced when we are able to connect our thoughts or activities with something else in a way that creates a sense of relevance or context" (Bains 2007:79). In his research, he identifies a set of 'Meaning Inc.' characteristics that help organisations help to create meaning and engagement:

- An invigorating sense of purpose
- The courage to set extremely stretching goals
- An innovative approach to benefits

- A culture that allows people to be themselves
- A rigorous approach to evaluating performance
- Clear and authentically grounded values
- A concern for wider environmental and societal impact of business activities

(From: Meaning Inc. 2007)

Companies that displayed these Meaning Inc. characteristics did not just show high levels of employee engagement, shares in these companies rose close to 600 per cent. Bains concludes that creating an authentic sense of meaning is the key to raising levels of commitment in organisations and driving business success. He finds that money invested in the US 100 best employers would have made 15% annually between 1998-2006 (Bains 2007). Similarly, companies in the UK Sunday Times best companies to work for have a better performance record that those without the same reputation for treating their employees exceptionally well. "Quite simply" says Bains, "the creation of meaning directly drives commitment and engagement and this has a tangible and demonstrable impact on business results" (Bains 2007:38).

But what does this have to do with minority leaders? Kirk Snyder in his book the G Quotient (2006) describes research he conducted over a five–year project covering over 2,000 organisations and 3,500 professionals. He found that organisations and work units managed by openly gay male managers and executives accounted for a 25 to 30 per cent higher rates of job engagement, satisfaction and workplace morale. Snyder finds that gay executives created environments where "employees care about their work, demonstrate a deep commitment to professional excellence, and feel individually connected to advancing the success of the organisation itself" (Snyder 2006:VII). He explains that gay executives approach their leadership role from a worldview that "places primary value on the individual, they believe each employee has the right to a place of foremost importance within the organisation" (Snyder 2006:VII). Respondent 44, a Gay Man says *"I feel that because I treat employees fairly and with respect that they work hard for me"*. Snyder uses his

research to define what he calls ‘The G Quotient’, comprised of seven components of executive leadership: "inclusion, creativity, adaptability, connectivity, communication, intuition and collaboration” (Snyder 2006:XXVII). These are not new ideas about leadership but are, at least according to Snyder’s research, more commonly applied by gay executives. Snyder argues that because "G Quotient leaders understand and value themselves," (Snyder 2006:135) they may be more able to understand and so value their employees. He does not suggest that straight male executives do not display similar qualities (they may well do but less consistently) but certainly seems to suggest that gay male executives have an advantage. He does not study lesbians, which is a significant limitation of his study. However, when considering the advantages of female leadership styles and the humane and participative styles of ethnic minority leaders alongside the ability of gay male executives to drive employee engagement, we might even conclude that majority leaders have something to learn from minority leaders. This is an important finding; when taking into account the range of literature and the experiences of the participants as well as the changing nature of the work environment, we could conclude that minority leaders may actually be more suited to contemporary leadership contexts.

Authenticity and Support for Coming Out

So gender, ethnic and sexual identities can then be used as a resource for leaders to draw upon. Authentic leadership now forms part of the contemporary discourse on leadership with authentic leaders thought to be those who possess self-knowledge and lead in a way which is consistent with their values. They are those “portrayed as identifying strongly with their leadership role, expressing themselves by enacting that role, and acting on the basis of their values and convictions” (Shamir and Eilam 2005:396). Avolio and Gardner argue that in times of challenge and turbulence “a more authentic leadership development strategy becomes relevant and urgently needed for desirable outcomes” (Avolio and Gardner 2005:316). They argue “through increased self-awareness, self-regulation, and positive modelling, authentic leaders foster the development of authenticity in followers” (Avolio and Gardner 2005:317). Authentic leaders are more likely “to find the inner strength and

internal compass to support them and guide them when dealing with their challenges" (Shamir and Eilam 2005:400) which clearly has implications for minority leaders. As some of the experiences of participants shows, minority leaders may have to adapt to prevailing circumstances which do not necessarily support them. Can Women, BME and LGB leaders maintain their authenticity or do minority leaders "lose themselves as they negotiate across social contexts because of different cultural orientation values, group affiliation status, and dominant-minority status" (Chin 2013:8). Shamir and Eilam argue that "authentic leadership rests heavily on the self-relevant meanings the leader attaches to his or her life experiences, and these meanings are captured in the leader's life-story" (Shamir and Eilam 2005:395). As part of my work in leadership development I invite leaders to reflect on and present their personal histories so that they consider the wealth of work and non-work experiences that have contributed to their leadership journey. As described earlier I also work with emotional intelligence as a tool for leaders to help them to adapt their behaviour to context.

Perhaps the emphasis on identity in itself creates problems "given that in practice, we simultaneously occupy many subjective positions, identities and allegiances" (Collinson 2003:534). Rumens and Kerfoot (2009: 782) suggest that minorities trying to conform to professional standards at work might "limit their expression of aspects of their identity deemed to be incongruent with normative ideals of professionalism in any given work situation". By framing authentic and emotionally intelligent leadership in a way that acknowledges our ability to hold multiple, intersecting identities and promotes behavioural flexibility we can potentially enable minority leaders to draw upon their experiences of "living in bicultural environments, needing to code switch, and having to grapple with multiple social identities" (Chin 2013:9) and to view minority status as a resource rather than a constraint that has to be managed. Authentic leadership may be a positive and effective approach to leading but it is relational and minority leaders may still struggle if their followers do not identify with their values or indeed do not regard their leadership as legitimate because they are not prototypical.

Eagly suggests that the idea that women and other minority leaders should just be themselves is too simple a prescription and that leadership development "should explore the legitimacy deficit that goes with the territory for people who gain leadership roles that are non-traditional for members of their group. The negotiation of potential value disagreements with followers also should be sensitively explored" (Eagly 2005:470). This is valuable advice for leadership development practitioners; to explore the challenges of being a minority leader and what that might mean also for followers, and to explore what holding multiple identities might mean in terms of extending behavioural flexibility.

Support for Coming Out

"It's painful advice, but it is to be authentic, whatever way you need to be authentic. Don't go to a rugby match if you don't want to go to a rugby match, because everyone's going to see that you're not enjoying it; or do something else with a client, do something different that you enjoy doing. If you're giving up your weekend to go to a rugby match and you're hating every minute of it, then for God's sake, don't do it. You're not going to give the best of yourself, you're not going to be genuine, and therefore you need to do something else" - Jack .

I previously referenced Kirk Snyder's work in his book the G Quotient (2006). It is important to note that the Executives in Snyder's research were 'out at work' and this was a critical factor in their ability to drive engagement. This study however, shows that fear remains part of the LGB experience and being out at work is not without its challenges. There remains fear of repercussions to coming out and negative consequences it may have in respect of stalling progression. Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees may have to weigh up the risks of coming out with the need for authenticity. Role models may be particularly important for LGB people; out LGB employees may be helpful for non-out employees in predicting the consequences of coming out. All the same, coming out requires something of a leap of faith. LGB people who work with children may also face particular problems suffering from the stereotype of representing a danger to children. Says Jason: *"When I*

was going through college in '84 to '88 at (Uni), being gay was seen as, and wanting to be a teacher, I was accused of being a paedophile" . My Masters research (Mullen 2011) also found similar challenges for LGB people working with children and perhaps this is an area in which in addition research would be valuable.

Potential and existing leaders need commitment from the top of the organisation that coming out will not be detrimental to their careers and they will be supported should client relationships become challenging. The work of the practitioner has to combine both individual growth of leaders and facilitating the environmental changes that are needed. In terms of the latter that might include: ensuring managers understand that 'homophobic banter' is harmful; it deters people from 'coming out' (it has also been found to violate the dignity of heterosexuals and would be considered unlawful), and ensuring that employees do not 'out' colleagues without their knowledge. Jason says: *"This final teaching practice my teacher had told the Head teacher that I was gay and hadn't informed me. As if it should be some dirty little secret. Having gone through all that, I'm going to be bloody positive. Why shouldn't I be? Having experienced all that really confirmed to me that I'm doing the right thing. That I am being positive and out and whatever. If I can be a role model for any kid who is just perceived as being different or who does identify as LGB in the future, I will have achieved some kind of level of satisfaction".*

The degree to which LGB people disclose their sexuality at work may vary. My Masters research (Mullen 2011) attempted to understand the situations in which Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual people utilised the sexuality identity management strategies censoring, implicitly out, explicitly out and passing. It found that there were common factors which influenced each of the strategies and that coming out is highly dependent on organisational factors. The results from this study offered the following recommendations for organisations to support LGB employees in coming out (Mullen 2011):

1. Equal opportunities policies should be in place and they should make explicit their support for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees;
2. Managers should make visible commitment to those policies and tackle homophobic behaviour irrespective of whether out Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual people are present when it occurs;
3. Management and HR practices should emphasise diversity and inclusion;
4. Where possible, networking opportunities should be available for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees
5. Organisations must understand that the need for authenticity is compelling and all employees are likely to perform better and be engaged if they can achieve congruence in their public and private identities;
6. A heteronormative ideology can be difficult for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual employees and assumptions about sexuality based on, for example, where one has children should be challenged.

My research did not specifically intend to explain sexual identity management behaviours that are causally linked to role schema. However, there may be specific challenges associated with managing sexual identity when holding public roles or in client settings. In common with my Masters research, there seem to be specific challenges for teachers and this may be an area of future research.

Psychological Safety

Psychological safety in teams may have implications for diversity and leadership. Psychological safety refers to one's perception of how safe we are in taking interpersonal risks. As before 'coming out' at work is dependent on an environment in which people feel safe to do so. It is also considered a critical factor "understanding phenomena such as voice, teamwork, team learning, and organisational learning" (Edmonson and Lei 2014:23). It may be that psychological safety supports authentic leadership in so far as authenticity

requires one openly and transparently convey one's values. Edmonson and Lei (2014), in reviewing research find that psychological safety in teams correlates with performance. They state that "that servant leadership influences affect-based trust, which gives rise to psychological safety, and that transformational leadership influences cognition-based trust, leading to team potency" (Edmonson and Lei 2014:33). Thus, leadership behaviour influences psychological safety, and psychological safety has implications for leadership behaviour and teams.

However, whilst racially diverse teams do not necessarily experience more conflict they may experience more negative outcomes that other kinds of teams (Foldy et al 2009). Foldy et al suggest that group dynamics in racially and ethnically diverse teams are driven by power imbalances that impede group effectiveness. Again, we see the importance of attending to issues of power in understanding diversity in organisational settings. They also suggest that, as a precursor to psychological safety is 'identity safety'. They state that "Identity safety is the individual sense of security that comes from knowing one's racial group is welcome, that allows the team-level belief that a group is truly psychologically safe for risk taking more broadly. For that reason, there is a tendency to hypothesize that identity safety will moderate the relationship between team racial diversity and psychological safety, making it more likely to be positive". (Foldy et al, 2009:30). This might be extended to include women and LGB employees who may also feel safer to take risks including the risks associated with being true to oneself and one's values, and those associated with coming out.

Diversity Training

Diversity training for managers has come up frequently in my own programmes when diversity issues are discussed. Often it relates to the need for senior leaders to understand the experience of minorities and it is argued that progression for minorities cannot happen unless it is driven by and supported from the top. As we have seen "Occupational minorities tend to suffer token and solo status, which leads to high visibility, performance

pressures, isolation, intense scrutiny, and negative performance evaluations…..They may also experience hostility, resistance, and challenges to their authority by firm insiders" (Cook and Glass 2014: 1081). So perhaps the view that senior leaders are responsible (or at least more influential) for diversity is recognition by minority leaders that there is something beyond individual agency and their own leadership education that is needed in order to facilitate their progression. Senior managers represent the organisational system; in other words, their thinking and knowledge-in-action "effectively become a blueprint for the organisation and its performance" (Coffey 2009:23). In organisations, the behaviour of senior leaders is 'spotlighted' and employees will observe senior managers' actions in order to determine the nature and strength of support for minorities. Further, direct line managers may have a "greater detrimental impact on marginalized groups than peer-to-peer relationships" (Sue 2010b:228) - arguably because there is a power differential. However, senior managers may verbally support diversity initiatives without recognising the personal investment, and even sacrifices, that they need to make. The denied unconscious task is 'don't change anything'. My experience during my years in investment banking was that diversity initiatives were considered important only in terms of managing reputation risk and something to be owned and driven by Human Resources. Minimal attention and participation came from the top of the organisation; a case of 'Wash me but don't get me wet'.

Leadership development needs to ensure that diversity and inclusion are inherent and explicit in training; all leaders (including those at the top) need to be trained in the value of diversity for organisations and how to make the environment more supportive for minority staff. Diversity training that focuses on negative consequences is likely to be detrimental (Dobbin and Kalev, 2016) and so approaches to diversity training should not only address risks of discrimination claims but focus on the benefits of diverse workforces. However, research on diversity training has not shown consistent beneficial effects on affective-based outcomes. The meta-research conducted by Kalinoski et al (2012) found that training which facilitates social interaction and interdependent tasks may have stronger effects on affective outcomes (i.e. attitudes). This could be extrapolated to broader organisational and leadership development initiatives such as task forces, action learning projects (where a cohort addresses a strategic business challenge and the process is facilitated to encourage learning) and

employee engagement teams that bring together employees of different levels and backgrounds. Yates and Sachdev (2015) look to organisational development practice to enhance approaches to diversity: "We therefore refer to taking an 'OD Approach' to diversity. This means that we take a holistic and humanistic view of the organisation, not just a process or mechanistic view. The organisation is seen as a system, an ever-changing organism that flourishes when its individual parts are aligned" (Yates and Sachdev 2015:6). Nicolini states "Practice thus forms constellations and (social) systems" (Nicolini 2012:48). This is an important link between practice and constellations and systems work such as that proposed by Whittington (2012). In essence the priority for leadership, OD or diversity specialists is not minorities per se but the development of the systems to which they belong and practices within them. So diversity initiatives that focus on what people actually do (including HR practices), increases contact between groups, addresses legacy discrimination and attends to wider systemic issues may provide more tangible outcomes.

Diversity has implications for teams. Initiatives need to recognise that something happens with diversity: the curves goes down. For example, when I have introduced diversity training, complaints about harassment have gone up for a period. Employees become aware that their experiences do not have to be tolerated in the workplace. It is necessary to push through this stage and keep going. When I work with teams to help them improve their effectiveness the importance of, and difficulties with, diversity is discussed. When teams take into account multiple perspectives and experiences, velocity can go down for a period. However, better quality decisions may be made; particularly important in unpredictable or changing environments when teams working on autopilot are likely to become out of step with the rest of the organisation. At some point in most teams its members will rub up against each other and there will be conflict. Team members need to have to skills to work through differences and create space for the conversations in which people can learn to understand each other and develop better perspectives on what is happening systemically that causes friction.

Hysteresis and Support Majority Leaders

Though not widely used in organisational change practice, Bourdieu offers an explanatory model that explains the challenges of disrupting existing systems, hysteresis, a field condition affecting individuals within a social space. "Hysteresis is a term that Bourdieu employed to indicate a cultural lag or mismatch between habitus and the changing "rules" and regularities of a field" (McDonough and Polzer, 2012:359). Hysteresis comes from the Greek term meaning "a deficiency" but put simply refers to the time lag between input and a resulting output. Hysteresis of habitus occurs when the field changes and there is a time lag between a change in the field and the habitus' (either group or individual) ability to adapt and act in accordance with the structural change. This tool is helpful in understanding the experience of minority leaders. Structures may change through interventions such as legislation or diversity training for example, but our dispositions take longer. The time lag between a change in the field and the resulting change in habitus can be decades and may explain why, so long after equality legislation, women and other minorities still struggle to progress in organisations. Further, "hysteresis is itself shaped by the configuration of power relations…the position-takings that emerge in a shifting organisational context reflect the tacit calculation of what is possible (or not) for agents who occupy specific locations in the stratified social order" (McDonough and Polzer 2012:359). This may mean that when the hysteresis is felt there is a period of stronger entrenchment or resistance as those that have benefited from the previous filed conditions begin to experience the threat.

White, heterosexual men may benefit from social and economic benefits at work (including career progression) due to their place in the dominant culture. However, the field changes such as more women entering the workplace may be more rapid than the more durable habituses of men and so we see the hysteresis effect. Men may resist these changes, or they may find themselves viewed as anachronistic, hierarchical, stubborn and suited to a world that no longer exists: 'stale, pale and male'. As the longest in dominant positions they may have a decrease in adaptive capacities and they may not willingly surrender their position easily in order to help members of less privileged groups. Majority leaders might find it difficult to support a disruption that would result in the loss of their cultural capital. The

(sometimes painful) experiences described by participants as they have attempted to progress their careers, in other words to obtain a better place in the field, can be attributed in part to hysteresis; they encountered an unexpected resistance. Respondent 17, a Gay Man, cited *"Line managers who feel threatened by emerging leaders"*.

When thinking about the dislocation of habitus it is worth considering the effect for both minority and majority leaders. Both groups may develop heightened consciousness about their respective positions. Just as minority leaders face negative sanctions when the field structure is too far removed from that which they are objectively fitted, what happens when there is a mismatch between majority leaders' dispositions and practices and these new field structures? How do men for example respond to the new legitimacy in which women occupy senior positions and what help do they need in order to adapt? How do we address the time lag issue? Bourdieu recognised that when the field changes significantly "Habitus is not necessarily adapted to its situation or necessarily coherent" (Bourdieu 2000:160). Bourdieu highlighted that the time lag between field change and the reconfigurations of capital (habitus) that support dominant field positions could be decades. "One can thus have situations where the field changes more rapidly than or in different directions to the habitus of its members. The practices of actors can then seem anachronistic, stubbornly resistant or ill-informed" (Grenfell 2008:58). I am reminded of my experience of working in a South African bank where despite significant transformation in the country and a very racially diverse workplace, white managers would make comments that certain black managers were only in their roles because they were black. They could not see the irony of their accusations but nor could they comprehend this new environment where people of colour were legitimately in roles at every level of the organisation. In this case, being black and therefore similar to (or even from) some of the same communities as the customers of the bank might actually be a distinct advantage.

Perhaps then hysteresis is a factor in the creation and reproduction of resistance to new ideas about leadership, diversity and inclusion. Even when senior leadership and other majority leaders cognitively understand the importance of diversity they do not treat diversity

initiatives as a strategic priority and instead outsource them to the Human Resources function. As Stephen Grosz says: "We are vehemently faithful to our own view of the world, our story. We want to know what new story we're stepping into before we exit the old one" (Grosz 2013:123). Perhaps unconsciously the status quo offers security. "Routines provide both cognitive economy and anxiety reduction and control" (Nicolini 2012:48); in the same way sameness may also provide similar cognitive economy and anxiety reduction. I notice a midpoint; acceptance that women and other minorities should be present in the workplace and also that discrimination is wrong, but there is an unconscious expectation that those who do progress to leadership positions must assimilate. Whilst minority leaders may benefit from a new legitimacy, they still have to be configured to the organisation's norms. Leadership development and executive coaching may be inadvertently designed to do just that. As Florence says *"Certainly in some organisations that would be how they configure coaching. This is how to fix people to make them look right and sound right so that they fit in better. Here you are…can you make this person fit a bit better? Shave off the edges and then there will be rounder pegs to go in all the round holes that we've got"*. Minority leaders may feel a pressure to conform but this may have negative consequences for both organisations and individuals. Just as LGB employees face psychological pressures from trying to hide their identity at work, so too might other minorities face a pressure to adapt to the structures to which they are not objectively fitted. *"The strongest pattern I can tell you about is, "How can I fit in better?" Not, "how do I overcome being different?" but "How can I become more acceptable?". If I think of the few people who I have coached who are different in some way and feel that their difference is in itself a barrier to being successful at that level, I would say it's about "How can I be more acceptable? Get me the tailor that can get me the right suit, and then I'll fit in more, and then I can bring my diversity to the discussion. I probably want to be included because I want to be one of them, not because I want the room to include more diversity"* - Florence. As Marlene Gail Fine says "those who assimilate are denied the ability to express their genuine selves in the workplace; they are forced to repress significant parts of their lives within a social context that frames a large part of their daily encounters with other people". (Fine 1995:35). There are organisational consequences too. Just as LGB people who are out at work can be more productive, so too are other minorities who can be themselves: "People who must spend significant amounts of energy coping with an alien environment have less energy to do their jobs….. Assimilation

not only create a situation in which people who are different are likely to fail, it also decreases the productivity of organisations" (Fine 1995:35).

However, it is hysteresis, a disruption between habitus and field, which also provides opportunities for improving the relative positions of minority leaders. For the field to change it must first be disrupted in order that it can be reconfigured. The introduction of equality legislation is one such disruption. When the state intervenes, it redefines what is legitimate, "the relative values of symbolic capitals are altered and the interactions between field structures and habitus are dislocated" (Grenfell 2008:138). So too are clear statements of support from senior leadership about diversity; that too redefines what is legitimate. However, diversity initiatives can fail if they focus on negative consequences such as tribunals and payouts and may actually activate rather than decrease bias. A study by Dobbin and Kalev analysed 30 years of data from over eight hundred US firms and found that that companies get better results when they "ease up on the control tactics" and instead "engage managers in solving the problem, increase their on-the-job contact with female and minority workers, and promote social accountability—the desire to look fair-minded" (Dobbin and Kalev 2016:54). As practitioners, we have to meet majority leaders at the assumption that they are being rewarded for their contribution and sacrifices; after all their organisations have historically succeeded because of them and people like them. Leadership and diversity specialists may be more effective if they are able to act as change agents facilitating and accelerating the process of change. Dobbin and Kalev (2016) found that broad organisational development initiatives beyond diversity training such as graduate recruitment, mentoring programs, special task forces and the use of self-managed teams were more successful in boosting diversity in businesses.

Support for Majority Leaders

So how do we ensure all parties are equipped to cope with hysteresis? We need to consider the needs of majority leaders as they attempt to understand and resolve their own concerns about a changing workplace. We can change structures but changing dispositions is more complicated and takes longer. Social and organisational systems and the familiarity they offer can operate as defence against anxiety; what does it mean for majority leaders who see their environments changing? The challenge for practitioners is that practice approaches to diversity and the progression of minority leaders are a direct challenge to the top of the organisation. How do we enter their space and yield credibility without appearing as if we are just Human Resources or diversity consultants shooting from the outside? Participants cited the importance of training for managers to understand the experience of minorities; certainly, there is need to for them to go into the wider population to get in touch with reality. As noted before mentoring of minorities is mutually beneficial and those relationships can be set up in a way which encourages both parties to be understand more about each other's similarities and differences. Mentoring may also help both parties to understand the organisational realities they create and recreate through their respective habituses.

There is also value in setting up processes (or spaces) where majority leaders can say what they think and feel without risk. The focus on using diversity training to 'keep us out of jail' so companies can demonstrate they have dispensed with their vicarious liability may have the unintended consequence of creating fear around diversity issues. When fear is used to drive change, it is likely to elicit more of the less direct and insidious discriminatory behaviours that participants describe, and so we have to remove fear from the equation if we want people to speak openly and air their concerns. There is also the risk of majority leaders displaying a sort of 'false habitus', ostensibly displaying the right behaviours and saying the right things, but lacking real commitment to long-term organisational change.

Bourdieu did not consider a change in habitus to meet a new context as a reflexive process. However, leadership experts do argue that reflexivity can lead to significant changes in one's

leadership perspective and behaviour. Kets de Vries (2000) in examining Russian leaders who needed to adapt to a new context, argues that some leaders need to go through a process of 'unlearning'. This requires space to address their fears, 'mourn the past' and start afresh. "Only by working through these issues will a real receptivity to change be created….. and only with that new receptivity will they abandon denial, regression, and obfuscation as ways of dealing with life's difficulties" (Kets de Vries 2000:73). He also recommends training that familiarises managers with leadership competencies as well as implementing changes in practices such as performance appraisal systems to reinforce required behaviours. Again, working at individual and structural level (habitus and field), is important in facilitating change.

I have found that taking a strengths-based approach tends to be more helpful in leadership development than remediating weaknesses and so positioning reflexivity, self-awareness and flexibility as positive developmental activities may make the process more appealing. Majority leaders who confront their insecurities or discomfort head on are likely to grow and adapt; more than that they may find themselves more suited not just to changes inside the organisation but also to the challenges presented by the external context.

Nielson and Kepinski, (2016) developed the idea of Inclusion nudges, techniques for working with both the unconscious and conscious minds to improve decision making, mitigate bias, and change behaviours with the intention of inclusiveness. There is now a global community which shares practical techniques to mitigate bias. Inclusion nudges attempt to access the brains automatic and reflexive systems in order to help individuals manage their automatic, controlled, and environmental impulses (Nielson and Kepinski 2016). They categorise inclusion nudges as:

1. Feel the Need Inclusion Nudge - these motivate changes in behaviour by targeting emotions rather than just cueing a rational understanding for the need for change. In one organisation I worked at, extreme statements about women, gay people and black people were presented to the executive team at beginning of a workshop on diversity. At the end of

the session the slide was shown again and the executives told that those statements were real and had been said in this organisation. It had the desired impact - a Feel the Need Inclusion Nudge cueing shock, embarrassment and anger as a precursor to commitment.

2. Process Inclusion Nudge - these support better, more objective and less biased decision-making. An example would be the use of 'ready now' in succession planning. Typically in succession planning we identify internal candidates who are ready now or ready with one to two years to replace certain roles. Unconscious bias can mean that minorities can be overlooked. By taking 'ready now' as the starting point for all potential candidates and asking "Why not?" the leadership team members are shifted to more objective decision-making. They have to think through and provide facts which support a decision that a candidate is not ready now.

3. Framing Inclusion Nudge - these intend to facilitate the positive or neutral perceptions and associates of inclusion, diversity, equality on the basis that they can typically prime some sensitivity or negative associations for people. An example would be asking managers to identify difference as criteria for selection for example: "What skill or quality might a candidate possess that you do not and which would be complementary?"

The work on Inclusion Nudges is relatively new and nudges are contributed by a global community of practitioners all the time. However, the nature of Inclusion Nudges as focused, individual, practice-based techniques that target the pre-conscious, the automatic and the 'taken for granted', means that they might have the potential to speed up hysteresis.

The Changing Business Case for Diversity

The business case for diversity shifted from one of legal compliance and moral justice arguments, to the value of diversity in relation to both team effectiveness and to servicing customers. In particular, strong cases have been made for organisations to reflect the demographic reality of their customers and those companies known to have diverse workforces may actually appeal to a wider customer demographic thus increasing their customer base. An example might be the 'pink pound' where companies recognising the purchasing power of the LGBT community made efforts not just to target the LGBT community in products and advertising but also to ensure that they were seen as gay-friendly employers. LGBT couples with their 'DINK' (Double Income No Kids) marketing designation were thought to have greater purchasing power that their straight counterparts. Equality legislation for LGBT people in the provision of goods and services was not introduced until 2007 and having been previously been discriminated against (for example in hotels and in insurance provision) LGBT people may be more likely to respond to brands that either cater to them or are known to be supportive of the community.

The UK in general and London in particular is one of the most diverse places in the world. Less than half of London's population is White British and its BME population is a key customer segment. BME brand and marketing managers may have insights that are helpful in developing better products and propositions with appeal to a more diverse customer base. According to Brennan (2015) the global incomes of women are expected to reach $18 trillion by 2018 and 70-80% of spending is influenced by women so even if she does not pay for a product herself, a woman often influences the decision about which product and brand to purchase. Companies are working harder to appeal to minorities and women and so the employment of minorities is critical. Brands who have attempted to appeal to minorities without fully understanding their needs or interests have found themselves criticised or ridiculed; for example, when BIC produced pens for women (Amazon, 'Bic for Her' 2016).

The value of diversity in teams has been highlighted. In the information age, job roles tend to have a high cognitive content and just as individual's process information to perform tasks, so do teams. Thus, teams might be described as information processing units (Hinsz, Tindale, & Vollrath, 1997). According to Hinsz et al (1997) diversity potentially increases the informational resources available to the team. Teams which consist of members with different perspectives and ideas can engage in constructive debate and deeper elaboration of the information needed to successfully complete tasks. Therefore, if the task can benefit from information elaboration, performance of the team is enhanced.

Now we see that the arguments for diversity shifting gain: reflexivity, innovation and adaptability are seen as imperatives if organisations are to thrive in VUCA (volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity) environments. Organisations may underestimate the substantial requirements of leadership in contemporary contexts and the range of styles and perspectives which may need to be employed. Fluctuating and volatile markets demand adaptability and so a workforce from diverse backgrounds brings individual talents, experience and ideas and organisations that can increase their responsive capacity by employing a diverse workforce can offer a much greater variety of solutions to problems. Diversity, then, is seen as testament to organisational agility. Bourdieu also saw existing *doxa* being questioned in times of change and as Grenfell says "and of "the universe of the undiscussed" receding and even being overhauled in times of crisis, when drastic socio-structural modifications and disruptions could give rise to a critical consciousness, which might undermine the prevailing doxa and foster the emergence of other ones" (Grenfell 2008:118). In times of change organisations need to draw upon diversity but also the skills needed to embrace diversity are the same skills for organisations to successfully adapt to change: "The argument is that diversity presents an opportunity for an organisation to practice the skills needed to deal with volatility. An organisation that can maximize the power of racial diversity can in turn adapt to all the different forms of diversity, increasing its responsive capacity and ability to embrace paradox – all characteristics of an adaptive and nimble organisation" (Research Center for Leadership in Action 2011:27). In particular leadership teams may benefit from diversity in order to be successful. Hewlett et al (2013) were able to correlate diversity in leadership with market outcomes. Their research found

that companies whose leaders exhibit three inherent diversity traits (traits you are born with, such as gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation) and three acquired diversity traits (those you develop by, for example living and working in another country) were 45% more likely to report that their firm's market share hand grown and 70% more likely to have captured a new market. Diversity goals may be driven by strategic innovation and leadership goals. Yates and Sachdev (2016) suggest that "what blocks the organisation from innovation is bias and lack of openness at the individual, team, or corporate level. Inability to work with difference leads to stagnation" (Yates and Sachdev 2016:27)

There is another broader development trend that organisations need to pay attention to which is their brand reputation specifically in relation to equality. Companies are increasingly keen to display their equality credentials though, for example, targeted recruited events aimed at attracting more women, BME or LGBT employees. The first Gay Pride march in the UK took place in 1972 with approximate 2,000 participants. By 2016 Pride (as it is now called) the number of people walking in the Parade was estimated to be over 40,000 from over 300 organisations. Organisations such as Barclays, Starbucks and Tesco sponsor Pride and it receives funding from the Greater London Authority. LGBT discrimination is considered the last bastion of equality and so public support for LGBT rights (which is sometimes controversial) may suggest that organisations have a broader concern for equality. In fact, the commercial support of Pride has now led to criticisms that it is now a corporate-sponsored event that has very little to do with the injustices faced by the LGBT community. However, it does demonstrate that companies who want to tap into the LGBT market must also demonstrate commitment to the equality and well-being of the LGBT community and we may see similar pressure for companies wanting to target other minorities as consumers.

A survey by the Co-operative bank found half of consumers had boycotted a brand due to ethical concerns (Ethical Consumer, 2016). Furthermore, the same survey found that those companies that projected a strong ethical orientation gained a thirty per cent increase in market share over a three-year period. Consumers are increasingly concerned about the

activities and values of the companies they spend with and companies are increasingly willing to sacrifice business in favour of their reputations. PayPal and Deutsche bank pulled or froze hundreds of jobs in North Carolina when the state passed the HB2 Bill (Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act) which prevented trans people from using a restroom consistent with their gender identity. When a Starbuck's shareholder blamed lower results on the company's support of same-sex marriage, its CEO Howard Schulz stated that the company's decision was based not on economic reasons but out of respect for diversity, advising the shareholder to sell their shares if they felt they could get a better return than the 38% that the company had delivered. Organisations such as Twitter, Facebook and Google now publish their diversity statistics, acknowledging the challenges they face and publicly committing to do something about it.

Corporate Social Responsibility refers to business practices that may benefit society as well as the organisation; for example, charitable initiatives that also help the company to build its brand or environmental policies that help to reduce carbon footprint. Amaeshi and Atewologun (2013) argue that one of the challenges of the diversity agenda is that it makes equality conditional upon business imperatives. Additionally, that single strands of diversity fail to account for differences within categories and intersecting identities; Amaeshi and Atewologun (2013) in *The Guardian* (online) state: "In seeking equal representation for women, the white heterosexual middle-class woman in the retail giant's boardroom will have very different work-related experiences, needs and outcomes, to the Bangladeshi Muslim woman at its tills". They also recognise the personal challenges for the majority stating "Faced with the reality that as individuals we are in many ways more privileged and powerful than others, we perceive this as a psychological threat and a personal zero sum game" (Amaeshi and Atewologun, 2013). They suggest organisations address the psychological threat by exploring the moral and ethical case for diversity and find that some organisations are merging their diversity management and CSR agendas. Given that the intentions of CSR programmes are to ensure that organisations are relevant, sustainable, and consider the wider societal impacts of their activities, this provides an opportunity to create an integrated CSR and diversity management approach "one in which the philosophies underlying CSR

play out into philosophies of how different individuals should fairly and equitably experience work" (Amaeshi and Atewologun, 2013).

With the nature of the business case for diversity changing, organisations are seeing the benefits not just of eliminating discrimination, but actually utilising diversity in response to rapidly changing external context and as brand capital. Whilst diversity has been viewed in more recent years as a critical differentiator, it has been the margins of organisations. Diversity at the top of organisations has not been treated as a priority, with perhaps the exception of gender. However, minority leaders are well placed to lead in a contemporary context. In addition, employee networks and industry networks such as Interbank, Intertech, (both LGBT networking groups), Women in Gaming, BME in Gaming are recognised as providing commercial advantage. Lena explains: *"I said to our employee network group it's not only to be a more relevant part of the learning and development journey, but also to connect better with our clients. What people see, for example, the Shell Women's network are in our building, or the GE BME network is in our building. They will wake up and go, actually this is just about business"*. Connected minority employees are not only a great source of support but a powerful resource for recruitment, brand capital and business and so the challenges for business may not be so much developing as locating the next generation of leaders. As discussed earlier networks are an important organisational phenomena and organisations serious about creating opportunities for minorities may wish to consider the opportunity to encourage referrals through such untapped networks.

Challenges for Practitioners

Whether internal or external practitioners, practitioners have to consider that practice theory challenges organisational structures at a much deeper level and we are asking leaders and their organisations to submit to a more rigorous examination of their constitution and their actions. Executives and other senior leaders may not be used to or welcome someone attempting to illuminate their inner understanding of the systems in which they are located and the practices that sustain that system. Neither are conversations about power and dominance easy. Asking established senior leaders to reflect on the practices that have

served to facilitate their own success is risky and how we set up reflective interventions and create space for courageous conversations is important. We need to be sure that we really in touch with the impact and controversy that this may cause. As you move up the organisations you may not find the truth anymore; there is a natural fear in the system and as such we may be prone to collude with the system and to betraying our own authenticity or betraying the needs of client because we have to make a living. We are cautious yet we still need to loosen people up to become more diverse and inclusive. But who is going to tell an executive that had things been different, the playing field more level, he might not be where is now? How does one convey a message that everyone knows without criticising or blaming? Insight can be a double-edged sword creating a professional dilemma for the practitioner. Practitioners may need to consider their own capital and leverage support within the organisation. As Jack says: "*We have our firm-wide director of diversity and inclusion….The issue is, she isn't a partner. She hasn't got five million dollars' worth of business behind her that then gets her to be listened to in that way".*

Part of the responsibility of the practitioner is sense-making and Bourdieu recommends that we understand our own assumptions, biases and beliefs, in what he calls 'reflexive sociology' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). This is not an exercise in 'navel gazing' (for which HR and OD practitioners are often criticised) but so that we can understand ourselves practically in relation to the objects or organisations that we are studying and also that we understand our own position in relation to the field. As a man, I have to understand my own privilege if I am to explore the experiences of women. The use of one's own social past has parallels with the idea of the 'self as instrument', a pillar of organisational development practice. Bourdieu did not see this reflexivity as simply an individual exercise but as a shared endeavour (Bourdieu 1986). As Grenfell (2008:124) says "This stance is illustrated by Bourdieu's theoretical view of modern movements (feminism, gay and lesbian, ethnic minorities etc.) in which he encourages those who are intellectually and practically involved in these movements to be more reflective in their approach as to understand more fully the vantage point from which they are speaking".

Organisations, however, have a bias to action and reflection of any kind is not necessarily valued. That presents a challenge for practitioners if organisations are looking for immediate solutions when the power of the intervention lies in a reflective process. This is especially problematic if one is likely to surface that which is tacitly understood but reluctantly acknowledged. However, when one is in a catalytic role one has to say the unsayable; the equilibrium needs to be disrupted in order for learning to take place. Florence says: *"Let's teach people to embrace conflict because conflict or confrontation, which are both pejorative expressions, but really difference of opinion, difference of perspective, and ways of expressing that that can be discordant, maybe even cause a rupture, there is always something useful to learn in that."*. If indeed, diversity is a reflection of organisational adaptability, perhaps an organisation's willingness to reflect and to examine its practices is at the heart of that adaptability. The role then of the practitioner is to facilitate organisational reflexivity; to ask the questions that are difficult: "What do we do that holds minority leaders back and how can we change that?". The process of reflexivity and learning that exposes hidden power and dominance can be empowering but there is a thin line between discernment and judgement; practitioners must be careful not to appear too critical. I always caution members of my teams not to judge but instead to work with 'what is'. "You can't work effectively with people or teams you secretly judge" (Whittington 2012:139). Helping leaders or organisations to change is not an exercise in judgement. If anything, it is an exercise in curiosity; attempting to uncover the practices that are problematic so they can be acknowledged and addressed. An ideal outcome is that majority leaders, through analysis and reflexivity draw their own conclusions about the nature of their organisational structure and the potential solutions. After all, it is hard to argue with your own data.

CONCLUSIONS

After the game, the king and the pawn go into the same box." - Italian Proverb

This research initially began with the intention of developing knowledge about the development of minority leaders with the intent to improve the chances of women, BME and LGB people to obtain and be successful in leadership positions. The research took place in stages, first using an online survey which was follow up by interviews. Both provided rich sources of data about the experiences of minority leaders and their challenges. Thematic analysis of both the survey data and the interviews was conducted. Although the initial thematic analysis provided useful if confirmatory data about developing leaders, it was clear that there was much more valuable data contained within the responses to the survey and the interviews. Thematic analysis was conducted on all of the open questions and this supported existing literature about the nature of leadership, the development of leaders but importantly, the experience of minorities in the workplace. Following a literature review and study of the work of Pierre Bourdieu, the data was reviewed again to understand whether his thinking tools, habitus, capital and field, could uncover greater insights from the data and indeed whether the study could enhance our understanding of these conceptual tools and their applicability in leadership development and diversity work. The project finds that minority leaders may be disadvantaged because they are not regarded with the same legitimacy as majority leaders and so they face challenges to their leadership. This project also acknowledges the importance of gender, racial and sexual identity in leadership and that the environments in which these leaders operate consists of power inequalities.

Findings show that existing leadership development and diversity interventions are valued which should be encouraging for practitioners. Mentoring in particular is considered an important developmental tool serving to provide access to knowledge and advice that might not otherwise be available to minority leaders. It may be mutually beneficial in that it increases contact between majority and minority leaders thus enabling majority (senior) leaders to really understand that experiences of junior and minority employees. Therefore,

mentoring may be helpful in increasing self-efficacy, productivity, and career satisfaction for both the mentors and the mentee.

Reviewing the data using Bourdieu's tools alongside existing literature reveals a complexity to the challenges for minorities in leadership that is not widely understood in the corporate world. Organisational systems are more than the sum of the people that work in them; practices contained within those systems produce and reproduce the hierarchies and inequalities that hinder the progression of minorities into leadership positions, and their success as leaders. They are however, rarely examined and it is the 'taken for grantedness' of these practices that create a sense of legitimacy for (particularly) white, male leaders. As Grenfell (2008:180) says "hierarchies and systems of domination are then reproduced to the extent that the dominant and the dominated perceive these systems to be legitimate, and thus think and act in their own best interests within the context of the system itself". In order to change the system, we first have to 'see' the system; we cannot challenge the practices that hold people in their place until we understand their habitus, capital and the nature of the field that maintains those practices. Bourdieu's theoretical framework is certainly helpful in understanding the durability of sex discrimination, race and sexual orientation discrimination at work. In the context of leadership development and progression we need to uncover the conscious and unconscious factors that determine expectations of leaders and leadership so that we can challenge the notions of white, heterosexual and male as the measuring stick of legitimacy in leadership.

Organisational and leadership development need a broader spectrum of thinking and better thinking tools. It is now twenty eight years since Cockburn suggested that organisations needed to think about equal opportunities agenda in terms of shorter or greater length; short being measures which minimise bias and "At its longest, its ambitious and most progressive it has to be recognised as being a project of transformation for organisations. As such it brings into view the nature and purpose of institutions and the processes by which the power of some groups over others is built and renewed. It acknowledges the need of disadvantaged groups for access to power" (Cockburn 1989:218). Perhaps Bourdieu

provides “what is probably one of the most convincing ways of understanding practice and its central role in explaining social order at all levels” (Nicolini, 2012:69). As practitioners, we must take a macro and systemic view but also understand that the forces that create and sustain the system may reside in the everyday, the practices, and the micro. We must also look outside; organisations exist as part of a broader system and are inevitably influenced by what is happening in society more broadly. Just as social class plays a significant role in access to opportunities and options in society and in employment, so too do gender, ethnicity and sexuality have a role in determining the fates of employees at work. Efforts to increase access and opportunities may change the objective situation but not individuals’ subjective ambitions and expectations and this may explain why diversity efforts (not just those related to workplace issues but social mobility more generally) may fail. Just as it is hard to effect change if we focus on the individual and ignore the system, so we are likely to fail if we change the system but do not address the habitus of individuals. Equally if diversity work does not take into account symbolic capital, then it is bound to be ineffective. Practitioners need to consider what organisations value in their leaders and why. Minority leaders may incur sanctions “when the environment with which they are actually confronted is too distant from that in which they are objectively fitted” (Bourdieu, 1977:78) and our efforts to support minority leaders are unlikely to be successful if we ignore the realities of the field and its structuring. Leadership development needs to take into account interventions at both system and individual level and recognise that minority leaders face challenges independent of their skills, abilities and potential. We do not enter organisations as clean slates and habitus, which is socially created, creates patterns which transfer into the workplace. Bourdieusian approaches will “always seeks to capture the objective structures of the social space and the subjective experiences of individual agents and relationships between these” (Grenfell 2008:247).

Bourdieu’s approach is not without criticism; Nicolini (2012) argues that Bourdieu fails to consider the changes in practices brought about through conscious monitoring or the role that discourse can play “derailing practices from their discursive paths, introducing innovation through surprise, creativity and irony” (Nicolini, 2012:69). However, discursively based actions depend “on the ability to identify the implicit in social relations, structures and

unquestioned doxic classifications" (Grenfell 2008:124). Just as the influences of unchecked and unexamined habitus are likely to leave leaders ill-equipped for contemporary contexts, so organisations may find that they are governed by growing heteronomy when their practices are not examined. Perhaps that creates an opening for the OD practitioner; to be a point of monitoring, observation, and reflexivity. Further, whilst habitus, culture, organisational structures, career progression and the many other artefacts of organisational life unfold over longer periods, practices take place in the here and now and afford practitioners the opportunity to have more tangible and immediate impact more quickly if that is where the intervention begins. More contemporary approaches such as 'Inclusion Nudges' may be helpful in that regard.

Leadership models need to include a broader range of behaviours and leadership development needs to support leaders in developing deeper awareness of themselves. Insights into their own habits, habitus, preferences, capital, and reputation may help them to expand their leadership repertoires and become more effective leaders. They can build more effective teams if they can recognise the importance of identity safety. Leadership requirements are changing in response to contemporary contexts and as the world changes organisations need a spectrum of ideas in order to innovate. Organisations need to think beyond simply accessing markets and being legitimate because of the diversity of its employee in those markets. It is recognising that reflexivity, challenging the taken for granted social order, reviewing the skills, perspectives, ideas and experiences needed to meet (or make) markets, valuing the range of contributions that individuals can make and caring about employees can increase the responsive capacity and cultural dexterity of the organisation. As stated before, the skills needed to make diversity work are effectively those that support organisational agility. Diversity can move beyond categories, and instead focus on looser organisational structures, learning, and creating cultures where bringing ones whole self to work is encouraged. The values that we might associate with diversity such as inclusion, openness, teamwork, ethics, equality (including equality of thinking) and free expression may be precisely the values that underpin agile organisations. Practitioners can consider a more holistic approach dealing with organisations as parts of a super-organism, attending to its adaptive capacities to respond that is not focusing simply on the parts

(Women, LGB and BME for example) but as a significant change in how 'leadership' is defined and developed.

Leaders with high degrees of emotional intelligence (self-awareness, self-regulation, social awareness and influence) are likely to be able to get the best from employees who have different ideas and opinions and encourage innovation and creativity. We should certainly encourage leaders to listen for differences and maximise perceptions as part of their own reflexive monitoring. Leaders absolutely need to own diversity. This is no longer optional but with changing and diverse markets, the need to build reputational capital, the importance of innovation and creativity, it is a strategic priority. Perhaps leadership can be redefined so that creation of inclusive, responsive environments that celebrate and develop every individual becomes a core leadership competence. As the literature shows minority leaders may, through their experiences of marginalisation, bring alternative qualities to leadership and there is potential to incorporate those qualities into future models for leaders.

The findings from the research suggest something that I was not expecting. First of all that although the 'rules of the game' may be more challenging for minority leaders, they are invested in the game and also interested in changing the game: *"Part of that driving force is I don't want anybody to go through what I went through at primary and secondary and Uni or whatever. Whatever way I can help, I will do and I'll stick up for and I will stand up for what I believe in"* – Jason. Secondly, that equality may not be the end goal and in fact minority leaders may actually have an advantage in contemporary work environments. There is something else too. Organisations are simply subsets of a broader system and they have the power to shape societies and its norms; they can be a force for good. When a coffee shop giant comes out in support of equal marriage or a supermarket publicly supports a Pride march it creates a type of legitimacy and a model for organisations which connects them more deeply with their customers.

Although outside the scope of work, the idea of reflexivity in organisations has implications for how knowledge is created in organisations. Hackathons, for example, are time boxed events usually run over one or more days where software engineers, business analysts and creatives (such as game or web designers) come together to develop ideas in order to innovate products, tools and technology. Typically, they form teams around a problem or idea, collaboratively create a solution to a problem from scratch. They are used within technology companies, or groups of interested parties and sometimes hosted by companies. Facebook for example will host hackathons that non-Facebook developers can attend. They combine learning and experimentation (without fear of being wrong) with the power of community. They also lack formal hierarchies. Most hackathons tend to be focused on software development but the framework for a collaborative and experiential approach to projects and problem-solving has potential for other disciplines. Hackathons are an example of how organisations are using innovative ways to crowdsource and create knowledge.

I have referenced Agile in this project, a set of principles used in technology companies to develop software. Agile utilises self-organised, cross-functional teams in order to increase productivity and responsiveness. The Agile Manifesto (Agile Alliance 2016) contains four values: individuals and interactions over processes and tools, working software over comprehensive documentation, customer collaboration over contract negotiation, responding to change over following a plan. Teams are cross-functional; in a gaming company using Scrum (one form of Agile) a team might consist of developers, front end developers, artists, data scientists as well as the product manager whose job it is to understand the customer requirements and a scrum master who is essentially a type of coach, facilitating the work but not directing it since the teams are self-organised. Time spent on the team dynamic is considered time well spent; fast iteration requires openness and a high trust environment. Daily ‘stand-ups’ (short meetings in the morning where everyone states what they have done the day before and what they will do today along with any impediments) and retrospectives (a review at the end of every iteration where the team reflects on what has been achieved and how to improve) bake in responsiveness to change, reflexivity and learning. Diverse perspectives and individual contribution are central tenants to agile working and even such as hackathons. Agile and other methodologies such as Lean are increasingly used beyond

technical environments (I have used elements of Agile in HR) and whilst they are not suitable for all environments they are certainly disrupting traditional ideas about organisation designs, processes and structures: "Agile disrupts traditional patterns of hierarchy and title. Agile asks leaders to lead through service, to lead by influencing, to step up when needed, and to create opportunities for others. Agile leaders find opportunities to influence through diverse relationships and activities" (Agile Alliance 2016). I am not convinced that newer working practices, modern workplaces and contemporary cultures alone will solve the diversity question (some of the participants in the study were working in agile organisations and faced the same struggles as those who do not) but whether these practices can, along with other diversity interventions, solve the diversity challenge once and for all, is certainly area for future research. Facebook is an 'agile shop' but in 2014 reported that its gender split was 69% male and 31% female. At senior levels, it was 77% male and 23% female. At senior levels, its leadership was 74% white. It acknowledged it had work to do and began programmes which included, better talent sourcing tools, better training for everyone involved in hiring, training in managing diverse teams and training almost 100% of people at the manager level and above and 75% of all US employees in managing bias. By 2016 the gender spilt was 69% male and 33% female, (73% and 27% respectively at senior levels) and its leadership was 71% white (Williams 2014, 2016). So bringing together a range of approaches, agile and contemporary working practices, diversity interventions, practice approaches, may have value for diversity, productivity and knowledge creation.

Limitations, Potential Constraints

In researching minority managers, I am of course researching a minority of a minority and so the potential numbers of participants were likely to be small. The research questions are related to three categories of minority leaders which may have increased the number of potential participants but whether there was sufficient participation across all three categories to make proper comparisons remained to be seen. In the event 95 people contributed to the survey and seven in-depth interviews were conducted. Even so the degree to which any findings can be generalised across all minority leaders may be limited. There are also likely to be differences across professions and industries and clearly this research could not cover all of the various professions or industries in the UK. Results from my Masters research showed that, at least anecdotally, some professions (such as teaching and some areas of financial services) were harder for LGB employees than others.

Further, I did not research majority leaders and so there is not a direct comparison; instead I am assuming that existing leadership development is sufficient in supporting majority leaders. This leads to a fundamental limitation of the research method; the degree to which surveys and interviews of participants can produce objective accounts of events may be limited. Further, in reviewing past events participants might select events and evidence that 'fit' with the research questions or they may simply have forgotten critical experiences that could have provided a more accurate account of events. There may be a reluctance to admit (or even an awareness) that challenges may be due to personal capability rather than organisational barriers. However, there is value in this kind of research in 'giving voice' to the perceptions of participants and what is pertinent to them (even if filtered) is itself valuable data. As I stated before, I did not specifically set out to include transgendered people in my research. However, there is certainly value in understanding the experience of transgendered people in leadership, not least because they are a particularly marginalised group and this would be a valuable area of future research.

Future Research

I work as the Global Head of HR for a technology company having been promoted twice during the course of this research, from my previous role as Global Director of Learning and organisational Development. My work covers a broad range of activities: executive development, graduate recruitment and development, psychometrics, employee development, talent processes including promotions, succession, and performance management. Broadly though, my profession is about individual and organisational learning. I am aware that leadership and organisational development can be studied through different lenses and I find myself at a point where my interests in leadership, organisational development, diversity and inclusion are converging. This research has contributed to my knowledge of leadership development for specific groups (and I believe more generally) and has already supported my efforts to integrate diversity and leadership development strategies. Beyond simply answering the research question, I am also interested in the interface of gender, ethnicity and sexuality with organisations. My hope is that the process of this research and its findings will open up further conversations about the nature of this interface, the work situations in which gender, ethnicity or sexuality become salient, the value that minority leadership can bring, and the potential for new leadership development paradigms.

As the project progressed, insights from the data were recorded so that they might highlight areas for future research and as well as directions for me to take or to explore in my own work. These are recorded below:

- Referral hiring may have negative consequences. Explicitly encouraging referral hiring through minority networks may mitigate this (Bloomberg, 2016).
- Identity and identity safety need to be part of the conversation in organisations and team development. In team development events, participants should explore the importance of identity safe in their teams.
- Leadership development could encourage all leaders to reflect on how their experience and their identity impacts on their role as a leader. It would be

interesting to explore how this might impact on leadership support for diversity and on diversity outcomes. More broadly, reflexivity at leadership levels should be encouraged.

- Diversity initiatives (and other initiatives) which increase contacts between groups should be encouraged.
- Diversity programmes need to address diversity in leadership as well as diversity across the organisation.
- Opportunities for potential leaders to try out leadership positions may be helpful; research to determine whether these opportunities improve progression for minority employees would be valuable.
- Leadership competencies should incorporate responsibility for diversity and inclusion and leaders' performance should be measured. It would be interesting to explore diversity outcomes in companies who do currently utilise diversity and inclusion competencies.
- Leadership programmes can benefit from being supplemented with coaching and mentoring in order to address individual needs. Research to understand whether leadership development programmes which are supported by individual coaching have better outcomes would be valuable.
- Understanding whether interventions which support majority leaders can improve diversity outcomes would be an interesting area of research.
- Aspects of contemporary working practices such as agile may have broader application.
- We need to better understand the relationship between diversity, innovation and creativity and this may be an important area for research.
- Research to better understand the resilience displayed by minority leaders and the strategies they develop to address the challenges they face may uncover skills that would benefit leaders more generally.
- Public support for equality and diversity may contribute (and even be detrimental to) brand capital.
- Use of Inclusion Nudges may speed up hysteresis; a study of the impact of Inclusion Nudges on hysteresis on one or more organisations would be an interesting research project.

It is clear from the findings of this project that whilst there are common challenges for minorities there are differences. It is a mistake to assume that generic diversity initiatives will benefit all groups. It may be that women, BME and LGB employees face difference ceilings and that is worth exploring in future research in order to understand how to intervene earlier and more effectively for different groups. From this project, it is also clear that there is more to do in developing practice in leadership development and diversity and in understanding the organisational changes required which underpin both. Any research that adds the voices of minority leaders to diversity and leadership work not only benefits from greater legitimacy but might also surface hidden success factors for leadership in contemporary contexts. Any research that attempts to uncover the experiences of minorities in organisations is also recognising social identities and so it can draw upon and contribute to knowledge of minorities in society. "Recognizing the intersectionality of gender and ethnic identities with leader identity, and the significance of lived experiences associated with minority status enables us to ask questions about how social justice, humane, and collectivist orientations informs the exercise of leadership, decision making and managing of workgroup teams within an organisation" (Chin 2013:9). The task then for practitioners, is to draw upon broader sources of theory and practice; to be able to look at our organisations with a fresh pair of eyes: "The task is a new sociological gaze, a new eye, a metanoia" (Grenfell 2008:59).

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

Reflexive Account

It is October 2016. I am standing at the front of 45 executives and senior managers from our group companies delivering a leadership event. At one point I am asked the question: "Wayne. Why are there so few women in the room?" There are three women in the conference room and you can hear a pin drop when the question is asked. I pause, then give several explanations as to why women might not progress as easily as men in our organisation including gender-typing of roles and the contribution of habitus, capital and field. Later, over dinner I am told by one of the c-suite how impressed he was by the 'intelligence' of the answer.

My Masters programme had been significant for me. Working full-time in the City, travelling for work and studying was extremely challenging. I swore I would never do it again. Yet the process of research, of discovery, of finding literature, of hearing others' stories, was profoundly influential on me and on my practice. It was like opening a door that cannot be closed; my research interests never left me. I discussed the professional doctorate with an executive coach I know who was undertaking his programme with Middlesex, gave in and applied to join this programme. I use term 'gave in' deliberately because that is how it felt; giving into the constant, nagging, questions for which I could find only unsatisfactory answers.

A particular frustration shared by other members of my study group during my Masters programme was the lack of real-world applicability of some academic research to real life and so a professional doctorate appealed to my interest in developing knowledge I could actually use. The intention of that Masters programme is to develop theory rather than practice (although my conclusions were practical). This programme however, has been a significantly different experience. For me, the learning from my Masters came after the programme (I was certainly too busy to review, reflect and apply much of the programme

while I was doing it) but for this programme the learning has been throughout. Reflexivity, reviews, iteration and importantly, discussing the project have been integral to the process of research. Importantly I have been able to apply findings and insights to my practice as the programme and project developed. An example of this would be how I use the Hay McBer leadership model in leadership development (Goleman, 2000) and expanding the discussion about its use with leaders to include the relationship between gender and leadership behaviours.

I have sometimes been challenged with statements like “ethnic minority people don’t put themselves forward” or “women don’t want to work in our industry” and it can be difficult to respond to because of course, there is truth in those statements. Society, will all its inequalities does become deposited in us and will influence our expectations about where we will be welcomed and what we can achieve. It was the study of Bourdieu has helped me to find a way to reconcile the dichotomy of system and individual agency. Bourdieu’s tools were a revelation, many things fell into place. His conceptual tools were certainly expansive, opening up the data to direct my conclusions beyond what might have been the application of standard to solutions to complex problems. It has been difficult at times to describe my own experiences of harassment or marginalisation; it can be difficult to stay authentic to the experience when we do not have the language of experience in its totality. Bourdieu’s theory provides a way to a more comprehensive language for some of those experiences. So much of my work in leadership development has been aimed has increasing behavioural flexibility through self-awareness. Bourdieu’s concept of habitus extends that idea; if we know what is going on underneath, we can make more helpful choices.

At the beginning of this programme I thought that by carrying out research I could improve leadership development for minorities by better understanding their development needs. Through this study, I have come to realise that this effectively placed the solution with minority leaders themselves and that this suggests internal causation (and to some extent assumes a skill issue). It became clear that this was far too simplistic. Sometimes as practitioners, in order to find a role, we have to perceive the person or the system as broken;

our role is focused on deficit. So we need to take back our own projections in order to see the space more clearly. A significant part of my learning has been to recognise that if it is not the 'person' or the 'system' or the 'organisation' then that creates an opening, a space for conversation and negotiation as we grapple with issues such as equality, power and participation. These are not easy conversations and when we are working with outside the realms of what is widely known, we need to manage the discourse carefully. As practitioners, we need to consider how we convey messages without criticising and blaming or leaving people paralysed. Human beings, however we organise are capable of great self-delusion. We are driven by irrational drivers – fear of loss, fear of a lack of control, fear that we will lose our privileges. We have to attend to these fears if we are to be successful in working with equality issues and with organisations more generally. Bourdieu's tools have certainly been helpful in understanding the range and complexity of the issues and how we might experience hysteresis. Some of the more recent developments such as Inclusion Nudges or integrated CSR/Diversity approaches may be helpful in finding ways to address the diversity challenge in a more collaborative and less threatening way. The project, as practitioner research, reinforces the role of self as an instrument; what we say and do as practitioners is consequential not unlike those in leadership positions. As such self-awareness and a willingness to challenge our assumptions are critical.

When I presented the proposal for the project I was asked about the politics of the research. On reflection, I realise I did not really understand the question. As I progressed through the programme I came to understand it better. Whilst practice-based research brings together theory with action in order to improve practice, this project also intended to empower those who are marginalised in a particular domain, that of leadership. So it is inherently political; it involved a critical assessment of the workplace and more broadly of the society in which we live. Specifically, the project examined the nature of the power that frustrates the efforts of minority leaders: disclosing the 'sources of power' and revealing 'the reasons that explain social asymmetries and hierarchies' can itself become 'a powerful tool to enhance social emancipation' (Navarro 2006:15,16). Through critical questioning we can unravel and make sense of ourselves. Bourdieu provides a way to integrate "the material structures in society and the subjective meanings that social actors give to their experiences within

those structures". (McKnight and Chandler 2012:77). I recognise that every effort to change society for the better is a political act. Every challenge to discrimination, inequality, hatred, and bigotry towards other human beings is a political act. "Bourdieu's theory is essentially political and deals with power relations as its core objective" (Navarro 2006:14) and his work facilitates deeper empirical enquiry.

It is 2010 and I am in a coaching session with an executive coach. I talk about my experience of the investment bank I have been working in for a number of years. A bank where, amongst of the things I have been told that gay people should be beaten then gassed to death. Terms like 'faggot' and 'poof' are used even by senior staff in the HR function. My coach listens then asks: "Why are you tolerating it?" I am floored by the question.

The programme began with a reflection of my professional journey and I noticed some patterns in my experiences at work and my reactions to those experiences. This project has been valuable in recognising iterations of my own identity through different work contexts. In considering how the participants have responded to their challenges, inevitably I found myself have reflecting upon how I experienced my own challenges. In thinking about the nature of habitus, I have reflected upon what I believed was possible for people like me. Certainly, I have become aware of the degree to which I censor myself by, for example, my careful use of gender neutral pronoun when I talk about my personal life at work. Censoring means that part of you is unacceptable; it leads to gradual erosion that it is okay to be yourself. Bourdieu's tools have been valuable in understanding that we are changed by the system and we edit ourselves in response to it. I have had to think about my own editing process as well as the theme of authenticity in relation to my own authenticity. Like some participants, I grapple with the question of whether I am authentic if I am not always explicitly 'out' at work. I perhaps understand more about my own dislocation from my original background as well as my lack of comfort still in some social and professional situations.

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

One of the aims of this project was to capture the lived experiences of minority leaders to give them voice. I hope have done justice to their voices. I have found myself reflecting on what I want my own voice, life and work to say. This project has supported me in finding my own voice as a practitioner; I have tended to hold diversity work and leadership development as related but separated fields. My concern for equality has always been essential to me and through this project I have been able to bring together my work in leadership development and diversity, to understand that the integration of diversity into leadership is a critical success factor in contemporary contexts. I have more questions: How do I take what I know more broadly? How do make sure minority voices are heard in my work going forward? Can I make greater use of Bourdieu's tools in my work? I value research and found hundreds of pieces not all of which, frustratingly, I was able to use for the project. There were many pieces of research that I, as an experienced and informed practitioner was not aware and so part of my responsibility now is to make that knowledge more widely available. How then can I draw attention to existing literature? Can I extend the value of some or all of the research I found beyond this project? As I progressed through the project I noted areas of further enquiry or research and I hope to continue to explore some of those areas.

As I was undertaking this project, the UK voted for Brexit based on a campaign against immigration and, now shattered, promises about money for the National Health Service. In the US, Donald Trump was elected as President on the back of a campaign based on fear and hate. Both Nigel Farage of the pro-Brexit United Kingdom Independence Party and Trump have legitimised hate. In the UK and US we have seen a rise in hate crime with attacks on Muslims, LGBT people and immigrants. In June 2016, 49 people were killed by a gunman in a gay club. LGBT people face discrimination, arrest, torture, imprisonment, banishment or death in a third to three quarters of countries across the world. Organisations are of course part of a broader system and just as we must understand the interplay between habitus and field, so we must understand the interplay between organisations and society. Through the progression of this project I found myself thinking about how I might become more active in my community and politically. My starting point for the project was the enhancement of leadership development practice but there is a broader social context that I need to pay

attention to. My expectation was that there would be changes to my practice (and there have been many) but there have been changes that have been much more personal and fundamental.

One final thought: There was something that each of the people I interviewed had in common (including the practitioners) that I could not put my finger on until I reached the end of this research project. Although they did not use the term to describe themselves, the strongest impression I am left with about the participants is their courage. No matter how challenging their experiences they continued to face into them, something that I found both humbling and inspiring when listening to their stories. Perhaps then, it is courage above everything else, that is the hallmark of great leaders.

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Appendix A – Equality Legislation

- the Equal Pay Act 1970
- the Sex Discrimination Act 1975
- the Race Relations Act 1976
- the Disability Discrimination Act 1995
- the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003
- the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2003
- the Employment Equality (Age) Regulations 2006
- the Equality Act 2006, Part 2
- the Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007
- the Equality Act 2010

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

Appendix B – Survey Questions

INTRODUCTION

I am currently undertaking research as part of my Doctorate at Middlesex Univerity into the experiences of Women, Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) and Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual (LGB) leaders. I am myself in a leadership position and work towards developing inclusive models that bring about individual and organisational cultural change.

If you belong to one or more of the groups I am researching, I would be grateful if you would consider participating in this study. I am interested in your experience of moving into a leadership position, the organisational challenges you may have faced and your experiences of leadership development. Participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. The survey is anonymous and all responses are confidential. Information collected will be used solely for the purposes ofthis research.

If you have any questions or would like to discuss the research, please contact me, Wayne Mullen via email
wmdoctorate@yahoo.co.uk

If there are people you know who might be interested in participating in this research I would be grateful if you could forward the following link:

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/WMbreakingthrough

If this survey raises any personal or work-related issues for you and you would like further support a list of organisations is available at the end of the survey.

If you wish to receive a copy of the results please leave your contact details at the end of the survey. Thank you again for your time and participation!

Wayne

ABOUT YOU

1. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out above.

- Yes
- No

2. Are you?

- Female
- Male

2. Which of the following best describes your sexuality?

- Lesbian
- Heterosexual (Female)
- Gay (Male)
- Heterosexual (Male)
- Bisexual (Male)
- Bisexual (Female)
- Prefer not to say

8. What is your age?

- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54

- 55-64
- 64 and over

9. How do you prefer to describe your ethnicity? For example, if someone asks you where you are from, what do you say?

YOUR ROLE

Some organisations make a distinction between managers and leaders, whilst others may use one term to refer to all.

1. Does your organisation make a distinction between 'Manager' and 'Leader'?

- Yes
- No

2. f yes, how does it distinguish between 'Manager' and 'Leader'?

3. Do you consider yourself to be:

- A Manager
- A Leader
- Both

YOUR EXPERIENCE OF MOVING INTO A LEADERSHIP POSITION

Some organisations consider managers and leaders to be those who hold roles that involve direct responsibility for people; in others having subordinates is not a requirement in order hold a management or leadership role.

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

For the purposes of this research I am defining leaders as employees who are in roles with overall responsibility for controlling and coordinating a process, people or project in order to achieve defined objectives but not necessarily having direct responsibility for managing people.

This section relates to your experiences of moving into a leadership position what helped and what may have impeded your progress. I f you have experiences (positive or negative) which are specifically related to your gender, ethnicity or sexuality please describe them as fully as you can below.

1. How long have you been in a leadership position?

   - 0-1 Years
   - 1-5 Years
   - 5-10 Years
   - 10 or More Years

2. How were you selected for your first leadership position?

3. What was helpful to you in moving into a leadership position?

4. Did you encounter any opposition?
   - YES
   - NO

If yes, what form did it take? (Please describe as fully as you can)

5. What would have made the transition easier?

6. What three things would you suggest to make transition to leadership smoother for others?

7. Have any of the following been obstacles
   - Work-Life Balance
   - Career interruption
   - Stereotypes about Women employees
   - Stereotypes about BME employees
   - Stereotypes about LGBT employees
   - Self-confidence
   - Corporate world ruled by men
   - Partners' career
   - Networking
   - Feeling unable to come out at work
   - Other (please specify)

YOUR EXPERIENCE AS A LEADER

This section relates to your general experience as a leader both as you transitioned into a leadership role and then your experience in the role itself. I am also interested in your experiences as a leader which are related to your gender, ethnicity or sexuality. I would be grateful if you could provide as much detail as possible.

1. What challenges did you face in your first three months?

2. What challenges do you face now?

3. Would you describe yourself as a successful leader if so what would you say are the criteria of success? If not what inhibits your success?

4. What three things would you suggest need to be in place to support leaders like you to be successful?

5. In terms of moving further up your organisation, what inhibitors (if any) do you face to career progression?

6. Have you had any formal leadership development such as training, coaching or
7. mentoring? If yes, please describe.

8. If you have received formal leadership development, what has been most helpful?

9. What has been the most critical experience (or experiences) in developing you as a leader?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Please add any comments which may be useful for this study.

If you are willing to be contacted about your responses to this survey please add your contact details below (they will be kept confidential and will not be passed on).

If you wish to receive a summary of the research findings please provide an email address to which you are happy for the summary to be sent.

Thank you very much for participating in this study. If you have any questions please contact me via WMDoctorate@yahoo.co.uk

If this has raised any issues for you and you would like further support you may wish to contact one of the following:

Stonewall
0800 050 2020
www.stonewall.org.uk

ACAS

www.acas.org.uk

Equality and Human Rights Commission

www.equalityhumanrights.com/

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Appendix C – Consent Form (Interviews)

Participant Identification Number:

CONSENT FORM

Doctorate in Professional Studies

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

Name of Researcher: Wayne Mullen

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated ____ for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. I understand I may ask further questions at any time. ☐

2. I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions. ☐

3. I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. ☐

4. I agree/do not agree to the interview being recorded. I understand that I have the right to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview. ☐

5. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the information sheet. ☐

_____ _____ _____

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

One copy to be given to the participant and one to be kept on file.

Appendix D – Culturally Endorsed Implicit Leadership (CLT)

The six Globe dimensions of culturally endorsed implicit leadership (CLT) are:

1 **Charismatic/value based –** characterized by demonstrating integrity, decisiveness, and performance oriented by appearing visionary, inspirational and self-sacrificing, but can also be toxic and allow for autocratic commanding.
2 **Team oriented –** characterized by diplomatic, administratively competent, team collaboration and integration. A Toxic leader would be malevolent alienating the team, but driving cohesion
3 **Self-protective –** characterized by self-centred, face saving, procedural behaviour capable of inducing conflict when necessary while being conscious of status
4 **Participative –** characterized by (non-autocratic) participative behaviour that is supportive of those who are being led
5 **Human orientation –** characterized by modesty and compassion for others in an altruistic fashion
6 **Autonomous –** being able to function without constant consultation

Appendix E – List of Figures

Figure 1.0 Insider-Outsider Research

Figure 2.0 Intersection between Women, LGB and BME experiences

Figure 3.0 Leadership Theories

Figure 4.0 Inputs into the Research Design

Figure 5.0 Age Distribution of Survey Participants

Figure 6.0 Thematic Analysis of the Survey Data

Figure 7.0 Thematic Analysis of the Open Questions

Figure 8.0 Thematic Analysis of the Interviews

Figure 9.0 Hay McBer Leadership Styles (from Harvard Business Review, Leadership That Gets Results (2000:82))

Figure 10.0 CEB (2013) Four Imperatives to Increase the Representation of Women in Leadership Positions

Appendix F – Sample Data

Sample Survey Data

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out above.	Are you?	Which of the following best describes your sexuality?	What is your age?	How do you prefer to describe your ethnicity? For example, if someone asks you where you are from, what do you say?	Does your organisation make a distinction between 'Manager' and 'Leader'?	If yes, how does it distinguish between 'Manager' and 'Leader'?
Yes	Female	Lesbian	25-34	Bolton, though the accent is usually a dead giveaway. People don't ask me to describe my ethnicity because I am visibly white British.	No	(no response)
Do you consider yourself to be a manager or a leader?	How long have you been in a leadership position?	How were you selected for your first leadership position?	What was helpful to you in moving into a leadership position?	Did you encounter any opposition?	Please provide details:	What would have made the transition easier for you?
A manager	1-5 years	Qualifications	Anonymity in the recruiting process	Yes.	I didn't realise I needed to do so much networking and schmoosing . Outright discrimination or abuse hasn't been a problem, but	NHS employees are aware through their mandatory training what words they are not allowed to say but they are not invited to

					being a member of a minority group (or a woman) immediately identifies you as 'an other' and so you don't automatically get invited to the most useful social events - you have to barge your way in of your own accord and do your best to 'fit in'. These are not behaviours that I agree with or that come naturally to me and so I have found moving into these spaces very draining for me on an emotional level which of course can affect my work.	discuss why equality, diversity and human rights are important in the workplace, how they can go about making others feel more comfortable and what the evidence is. People generally being a bit more educated or exposed to the issues that women, BME or LGBT employees face would make the working world a slightly more pleasant and less stressful place to exist.
What three things would you suggest to make transition to leadership	Have any of the following been obstacles? Choose as	What challenges did you face in your first three	What challenges do you face now?	What in your opinion defines a good leader?	Would you describe yourself as a successful leader - if so what would you say are the criteria of your success? If not what	What three things would you suggest need to be in place to support leaders like you to be successful?

smoother for others?	many as apply	months?			inhibits your success?	
- Get a mentor of some sort - Get some formal training in communication, leadership and team working - Learn how to behave in order to 'fit in' to the template that people expect from a leader (or leave your position to preserve your sanity)	Work-Life balance Stereotypes about Women employees Stereotypes about LGBT employees Self-confidence Corporate world ruled by men Networking Feeling unable to come out at work	The old adage surprisingly proves to be 100% rooted in fact; "a man is assumed to be competent until proven otherwise, a woman is assumed to be incompetent until proven otherwise".	Maintaining a basic level of sustainable mental health amongst the daily microaggressions that exist in the workplace for women or minorities.	Someone who can lead by example, inspire others and can strike a balance between being person focused and being task focused.	Yes in my personal life (e.g. my hobbies are karate and conducting a brass band). The criteria for success as far as I can tell has been surprisingly straightforward; give them compliment sandwiches and generally be nice to them (i.e. encouraging and fair). No in work; the hierarchy, the politics, the system, the bureaucracy, the underground bigotry and my internalised reaction to all of the above inhibit my success.	- Smash the kyriarchy and develop less hierarchical and more collaborative structures. - Visibility of good, diverse leaders as inspirational examples. - Constant challenge to deter disillusionment.

In terms of moving further up your organisation, what inhibitors (if any) do you face to career progression?	Have you had any formal leadership development such as training, coaching or mentoring? If yes, please describe.	What has been the most critical experience (or experiences) in developing you as a leader?	Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Please add any comments which may be useful for this study.			

1) Dead man's shoes - the blighters just don't retire any more! 2) Networking - women my age tend to be away having babies and the men don't know how they're supposed to behave towards women any more. 3) Culture - my organisation thinks that developing people just means that they'll move on	Nope	- Having the energy to be a better leader which involved a lot of counselling along the lines of 'control the controllables' - Having good examples around me of leadership. - Developing my communication and people skills. I had to first learn to stop seeing this as 'manipulating people for my own nefarious purposes' to more 'how to make the	If my comments come across as a bit angry, it's because I am indeed quite angry. We are told when we are growing up that discrimination doesn't exist any more, that girls are allowed to play and that racism and homophobia aren't a problem any more. Unlearning that throughout my twenties has been the most difficult and harrowing thing I've ever had to			

elsewhere so they don't do it in the hope that you decide to stay and don't go mad. 4) Motivation. I've heard that 'women just don't want the top jobs' which is true for me but only from the perspective that a thoroughly hideous and unpleasant culture exists there for anybody who isn't a cis, hetero, white, middle class		people around you feel comfortable enough to communicate with you so you can help them'. - Working on my self confidence. Lots of women, including myself, struggle with Imposter Syndrome on a daily basis and overcoming this has been critical in gaining faith in my own skills and abilities as a leader.	deal with and I'd rather I'd just been told the truth when I was younger so I could actually emotionally prepare.			

man. I want to work towards making a difference, not spend all day managing stupid internal politics or fending off constant attacks, backstabs and patsying.						

Sample Interview Data

Speaker	Transcript	Comments
Participant	What I went through at school is what's happening now twenty, thirty years later still to children going through school. Children who are in any way perceived to be different or gay or transgender, whatever, are still given a hard time. I believe that we have to educate children to understand about every single difference in people who they're going to come across	Comparing his own to contemporary experiences. States a belief – educating children about difference.
Interviewer	Yeah.	
Participant	If statistics are to be believed, one in ten, maybe, children or whatever will identify as being gay. Three children in a class of thirty, and I always say this to the kids, it terrifies them. Three children out of a class of thirty will probably identify as being LGB growing up. Then the kids think, "Well, who am I sitting next to?" It's finding that sort of fine line between educating them and giving them ammunition. I believe what we're doing is educating	Describes how he uses statistics to teach children about the numbers of LGB people. He highlights the dilemma between educating and 'ammunition' and expresses his belief that it is education.

	them.	
Interviewer	Mm-hmm	
Participant	I did some training for some teachers and one of the TA's actually in the group was saying, "If we teach them the word sissy, they're going to go and use it." I'm saying, well, in my experience that's never happened because you teach them as well that it's wrong to use that word because it means this, that and the other just as much as if you teach them the N word or the P word and I can't say them because I hate them so much. They will actually go out and use them because they know it's wrong to use those words. If you just do it across the board, whenever any child, and it happened this last week actually, one of my year fours called another one "Gay'. Again, you just equate it right across the board with racism, and bringing it down to the kids' level. What do they actually get? What do they actually know is wrong?	Again describes the challenges between educating children about the use of homophobic words and potentially providing them with words they can use to insult other children. Expresses his own discomfort with racist terminology. Draws comparisons between racism and homophobia to teach the children. Uses disclosure about his own sexuality in order to explain the offence.

	They know it's wrong to be racist, so, it's wrong to be homophobic as well. My kids know that I'm gay, so I was able to say to this kid, "Well, I'm gay. You've just used that in a really offensive way to mean something nasty and horrible. How do you think that makes me feel?" It hit home straight away. That was it. Literally looked like he'd be smacked around the face.	Describes the effectiveness of that approach.
Interviewer	Okay.	
Participant	Like, "Oh." Which was amazing. Again, that's leadership. It's having that confidence to stand up for what you believe in.	Describes a characteristic of leadership as 'having the confidence to stand up for what you believe in'
Interviewer	Yeah.	
Participant	Knowing that you're going to be supported because of course having the Head behind me. If I was a Head teacher and doing that, making sure the Governors were trained. There's always got to be a cushion.	Here is describes the important of his own line management support. Interesting 'If I was a Head Teacher' – suggests something of his own expectations of himself if he were a Head.

Interviewer	What do you think you bring to leadership which isn't taught?	
Participant	Oh, god. I mean the leaders that I see around I think, "God. Who removed the human emotion chip?" I think it's the emotional side of things. I think, as well, having that sense of humour.	Describes the lack of emotion in some leaders. Sees emotion as an important quality along with humour.
	I've worked for one Head who was so inspirational, who was really an amazing people manager. The kids absolutely worshiped him. They would have done anything for him. I think that is the kind of leader that I am becoming. I wouldn't say I was anywhere near that yet. It really was. It was that sense of humour. It was being able to compartmentalize things. You've got that Headship part where it's the serious stuff for the government and data and all that kind of stuff. Then you've got the person whose kind of got to get everyone to get along with each other which he managed amazingly well. It's that person who can relate to the kids and who can command that	Describes the impact of leadership on the children and the staff. Describes the Head's ability to facilitate relationships.

	sort of respect from the kids. I think I've got sort of the respect side from the kids. My people management, again, this is where some of the emotion I could do with taking some of that out sometimes. My people management skills are better, certainly than they were when I joined the school. I don't really have very much people management experience. I had a few months as Key Stage Two Coordinator. That side of things, the serious side of things I hate doing but it's a necessary part of the job and I see that. Get it done and get me out of my office and get me out with the kids. I guess it's hanging on to that element of being human and approachable and personable and being able to, I feel, I'm able to be lots of different things to different people. It's that sort of almost like a chameleon side of things rather than being those, because I worked for this Head once who didn't ever	He credits his respect with the children – identifies his emotions as an areas for development. Prefers working with the kids over 'serious' management/co-ordination responsibilities. The terms 'chameleon' is interesting – could describe leadership and/or behavioural flexibility.

	come out of her office. The one time she came out of her office, the kids thought she was a supply teacher because they didn't know who she was. "Who are you?" "I'm your Head teacher." "Oh, we thought you were just here for the day." kind of thing. Like, oh my god. I don't want to be that. I've seen so many leaders that I know I'm not like and would run a million miles away from.	
Interviewer	Yeah	
Participant	Like I said, the Head I'm working for now I think is fantastic. The guy I worked for about twenty years ago was amazing.	
Interviewer	Okay, so good role models.	
Participant	Yeah, it's him I went to when I was starting off doing my NPQH because you have to go and interview an inspirational leader so I went and interviewed him.	The NPQH qualification requires that you interview an inspirational leader – interesting leadership development intervention.
Interviewer	Like I'm doing now.	
Participant	Yeah. I went and interviewed him which was amazing. The kind of person, and this is what I want	Draw a connection between inspirational leader, their impact on staff and the subsequent

	to be like, is the kind of person you really wanted to go to school the next day. If the staff felt like that, how are the kids feeling? Obviously, you know. People would have walked over hot coals for the man. He was an amazing person to work for. I'd like people to say that about me in the future when I've finished this job, if I ever do reach the dizzy heights of Headship. Yeah.	effect on children. Has aspirations to be like this Head Teacher. 'dizzy heights' in interesting – is it so far from where he is I wonder?
Interviewer	What role do you think values and ethics play in leadership? If any.	
Participants	I think you've got to have a really clear set of values. You got to be prepared to stick by them. I think it's vital because you're bombarded so much by stuff from the government, from the borough, from other schools, all this kind of stuff. If you don't have your very clear set of values and ethics and stuff that you are prepared to stand up and fight for, I don't think you can be an effective Head teacher, I don't think you can be an effective leader. Otherwise you change like the wind. I've worked for people where there	Describes how values are critical to effective leadership. Interesting that he describes the importance of values as an anchor when being 'bombarded' by multiple sources to prevent being changed 'like the wind'.

	these initiatives are coming from, we're doing this, or this initiatives coming in, we'll try this this week, we'll do this now and you don't know where you are as a person actually on the ground. If you've got somebody prepared to stand up for what they believe in, I think it makes the job of the teachers a lot easier because they know exactly where they stand. If you've got somebody who's just wishy washy and all over the place I think you're heading for a fall.	
Interviewer	Yeah. Do you have a clear set of values that you live by or work by?	
Participant	Yeah. It comes from the Simpsons.	
Interviewer	Okay	
Participant	There is a character and I can never, ever remember what her name is. She's the wife of Ned Flanders.	
Interviewer	Mm-hmm	

Participant	Obviously, Mrs. Flanders. The one thing that she always says is, "Won't somebody think of the children?" That is always in my mind. Anything that comes along. Won't somebody think of the children? I've stood by that because I think children have that right to have somebody who will think of them and will put their best need, best interests and needs first before anything else and somebody who's prepared to stand up for them and be their advocate, if you'd like, I suppose.	He uses a single phrase 'Won't somebody think of the children?' then describes beautifully what this means to him. His values are determined by a focus on the children.
Interviewer	Yeah.	
Participant	Schools these days, a lot of schools, I wouldn't necessarily say ours is, but you get so many schools that are kind of like factories where the kids go in one end and they're churned and squeezed and poked and prodded and tested and whatever within an inch of their life and they're churned out on the other end at a level four B. If they don't reach that level four B then they're worthless. I just think that is so wrong. Our kids are worth more than that. This is where	Critical of the school system. Again he uses his 'phrase' to hold on to his purpose.

	'Wont somebody think of the children?" really does come in. It really does get a laugh, but it is so serious. Xxxxxxxxx (removed to prevent identification). That's what I firmly believe we should be doing as leaders.	

Additional Survey Data

Are you?	**Response %**
Female	60%
Male	40%

Which of the following best describes your sexuality?	**Response %**
Lesbian	8.5%
Heterosexual (Female)	43.6%
Gay Male	30.9%
Heterosexual (Male)	6.4%
Bisexual (Male)	1.1%
Bisexual (Female)	3.2%
Prefer not to say	2.1%

Other (your preferred way of describing your sexuality)	4.3%

How long have you been in a leadership position?	**Response %**
0-1 years	4.6%
1-5 years	23.1%
5-10 years	32.8%
10 years or more	39.5%

Have any of the following been obstacles? Choose as many as apply	**Response %**
Work-life balance	55.5%
Career interruption	13.9%
Stereotypes about Women employees	38.5%
Stereotypes about BME employees	20.0%

Stereotypes about LGBT employees	15.4%
Self-confidence	46.6%
Corporate world ruled by men	27.7%
Partner's careers	10.8%
Networking	26.2%
Feeling unable to 'come out at' work	13.9%

Breaking Through: Developing Minority Leaders

Approx 71900 words excluding abstract, contents, references, footnotes and appendices but including figures and diagrammes.